Daily Report

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Former Property Owners Strike Continues

AU2605190793 Tirana ATA in English 1206 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Tirana, May 26 (ATA)—Jerina Zaloshnja writes: As Xhavit Turkeshi, vice chairman of the National Association of the Former Owners and one of the organizers of the strike, said on May 26 the strike staged some days ago by the branches of this association in Tirana and Shkoder has now extended on a national scale. Until 1130 [0930 GMT], there were 66 strikers from 18-76 years of age, from eight districts of the country, and the number of participants in it is rapidly increasing. There is not any political demand. The objective of the strikers is: restitution of the ownerships, lands, or other objects to the former owners.

The strikers did not agree with the existing Law on Ownerships. This law was artificially complicated in the period of the government of stability, which gave, without any responsibility and at symbolic prices, shops and locations which, in most of the cases, were not legitimate ownerships of the government. So the sellers and those working in these shops profited. A paradox is indispensably created: the former owner of the shop can hardly make both ends meet, relying only on his monthly pay, while the new owner protests only because eventually his way of drawing unmerited profits through the ownership of the legitimate owner may be prevented. The former owners are not pleased with the compensation in money that the parliament proposed. There are 150 thousand families, represented in the above association, who demand the restitution of their ownerships.

According to Vice Chairman Turkeshi, there is a fax from the branch of this association in New York to the Albanian ambassador in the U.S.A., asking that the President of the Republic Berisha, the Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Arbnori, and the Premier Meksi should be informed that the branch of this association in New York has started a hunger strike on the same objective in the UN seat. The strike continues.

Situation in Mining Industry Examined

AU2605190893 Tirana ATA in English 1022 GMT 26 May 93

["Mining Industry in the Focus of the Democratic Government"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 26 (ATA)—In a special article, the newspaper RD stresses that around 130 productive sectors of solid minerals, metal and non-metal, exist in Albania today with a general extracting capacity of over 6 million tons per year. Sixty percent of this amount is locally processed.

A considerable number of mines have a backward technology. In 1986-1990, investments in thisfield increased only 2 percent, the article stresses. The mines did not have even the most modest working and living conditions for the miners. Only 30-40 percent of the currency fund planned in import was designated for the branch of chrome during the past decade.

Albania is rich in underground assets, the article writes. Albanian geologists have been successful in uncovering about 60 kinds of minerals. In a considerable number of mines, the general extraction capacity of chrome, copper, iron nickel is averagely 800 thousand to 2 million tons per year.

The current statistics show of a great turn in the mining industry. A total of 1.2 million tons of metal and non-metal ores were extracted last year, while this year this amount is realized only by the extraction of the chrome and copper ores taken together. Along the mines, the upgrading factories and plants are also functioning. Now this branch of industry is going on well. The Ministry of Mining Sources and Energy is organized in departments, and economic communities in the form of companies are formed outside it. They are separate administrative close cycle units, the government has declared.

It has ensured a part of the funds for the needs of import for 1993. Some affiliates for the mineral extraction and processing are working with foreign investors. The chrome and copper companies have some draft contracts for cooperation with serious firms. All these have led to a successful reactivation of the efficient part of mining industry, the newspaper writes in conclusion.

Parliament Debates SDS No-Confidence Motion

AU2705082793 Sofia BTA in English 1951 GMT 26 May 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 26 (BTA)—Parliament today debated for nearly two hours a motion to vote no confidence in Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, tabled by the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The cabinet was elected on the mandate of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms by MP's of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and several MP's of the SDS who later formed a separate parliamentary group, the New Alliance for Democracy. The motion may be put to the vote 24 hours after the end of debates at the earliest, that is, after 5.15 PM local time [1415 GMT] tomorrow.

The parliamentary SDS motivated its motion with the "infringement on the personal freedom and inviolability of citizens, the violation of MP's immunity and of the principles of parliamentarianism." "When a prime minister is against the people, the MP's of the SDS must move for a no-confidence vote on Prime Minister Berov on account of their constituents," says the motivation section of the motion signed by more than 70 MP's of the SDS and two independent MP's. This view was upheld by the MP's of the SDS who spoke today. The SDS declared itself against the cabinet headed by Prof. Berov at its election. The parliamentary SDS voted against the 1993 budget bill proposed by the cabinet, which passed on first reading three weeks ago.

The motion for a no-confidence vote was occasioned by an incident on May 13 in front of parliament building where, according to sources claiming to be eyewitnesses, police hit SDS floor leader Stefan Savov, 69. Savov himself repeatedly said he had been brought down twice and beaten with batons by police. According to him, this was not accidental as the police knew whom they beat. An official communique of the Ministry of the Interior and the Government Press Office issued a few hours after the incident stressed "the police acted entirely within the law." Minister of the Interior Viktor Mikhaylov repeatedly expressed this view in statements for the media. [passage omitted]

"The SDS leadership wants to destabilize the government and parliament for instability's sake. The union's conduct is irresponsible to the nation," BSP floor leader Nora Ananieva said today.

The parliamentary New Alliance for Democracy described the motion as "the latest act aimed to destabilize the country" in a declaration issued today. It says the motion is the latest proof that SDS leaders place party interests above state interests. The New Alliance for Democracy supports the cabinet as an essential condition for the country's political and economic stability, the declaration says.

The parliamentary group of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) stands for unqualified respect and guarantees for the immunity of all MP's, Yunal Lyutfi MP of the DPS said today. He stressed the parliamentary DPS insists on "a timely thorough inquiry into the case by the competent state authorities so as to give parliament incontestable facts, demonstrating that violence had been used against Mr. Savov and some citizens." Yunal Lyutfi also stressed the cabinet was working amid complex domestic and international political realities.

Prime Minister Lyuben Berov also spoke in parliament today. The law-enforcement authorities protected the security of citizens and MP's, Stefan Savov included, by lawful, constitutional means, Prof. Berov said. "The facts are being investigated by the Prosecutor's Office. If someone has exceeded their authority, they will be punished," the prime minister said.

Prof. Berov sees behind the formal motive for the no-confidence vote "transparent intentions to destabilize the country in order to stop the economic reform and cause chaos in administration, law enforcement and the economy." "I was elected by parliament and will resign if this parliament withdraws its confidence from me as prime minister," Prof. Berov said.

At their regular press conferences today the Social Democracy Alliance, a radical wing of the BSP, and the extraparliamentary Liberals' Party took a stand on the no-confidence vote motion. The cabinet will not fall from power regardless of whether MP's will vote by open or secret ballot, said the alliance's leader, Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov. The SDS is not ready for early parliamentary elections though it is trying to convince its electorate it is, said Petko Simeonov, leader of the Liberals' Party.

Measures To Prevent Spread of Livestock Disease

AU2605192393 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 26 May 93

[Excerpt] Khaskovo, May 26 (BTA)—Over 5 million leva are needed to eliminate the foot-and-mouth disease [FMD] focus of infection in Simeonovgrad (southwestern Bulgaria), say local experts. The money will come from a specialized fund with the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Ministry of Agriculture reported the cases of foot-and-mouth disease on May 25. The incidence was localized near Simeonovgrad, close to the Bulgarian-Turkish border. Making a comprehensive inspection, the veterinary authorities identified an FMD focus of infection in a farm with about 100 cows and 150 calves.

The region has been sealed off and all necessary measures have been taken to prevent the spread of the infection.

The infected animals are under veterinary control. The milk is being thrown into pits and treated with chemicals. The manure undergoes thermal treatment in trenches. Personnel cannot yet leave the zone of the farm. The farm management will rent an idle creamery to process 8 tonnes of milk from neighboring villages.

An expert commission will today decide in what way to destroy the infected animals, in keeping with international requirements. The losses Bulgaria will sustain as a result of sanctions remain to be calculated, experts say.

The animals are kept in stalls. Pasture will be allowed 21 days after vaccination in specially marked pasture-grounds. No animals will be allowed to graze near roads or railways. All TIR [International Road Transport] trucks are passing through the region in transit. The parking lots are closed and are being cleaned up. [passage omitted]

Telephone Rate Increases Approved

AU2605094093 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 25 (BTA)—The National Council for Tripartite Cooperation (a deliberative body of representatives of the government, the trade unions and the employers) today approved new rates for inland and international telephone services, proposed by the Posts and Telecommunications Committee. The rates will be submitted for approval to the Council of Ministers.

Before the end of the year, the prices of these services may not be raised without a reasoned proposal introduced before the Tripartite Council. The Posts and Telecommunications Committee insisted on a 2.5-fold rise of rates effective May 1. The charges have to go up to raise money for repayment of loans from international institutions which financed a project for the modernization of Bulgaria's telecommunications network.

As from June 1, phone calls will be an average 147 per cent more expensive. Home line subscribers will pay 0.25 leva per call for under 150 short-distance calls a month, 0.50 leva per call if their monthly bill adds up to more than 150 but fewer than 250 calls, and 1 lev per call for over 250 calls a month. Corporate lines (state-and privately-owned) will be charged 1 lev a call. Calls dialled from coin-operated public phones will cost 0.20 leva, just as before. Long-distance calls will be charged in 1 lev units. There are plans to introduce cheap rates for off-peak traffic and to grade charges according to distance.

The National Council for Tripartite Cooperation today adopted an ordinance on supplements to wages and salaries, regulating the types and minimum amounts of extra pay which are not treated in the Labour Code or any other statutory instrument: night work, danger money or pay for other specific working conditions. The ordinance will be submitted for approval to the Council of Ministers.

World Bank To Fund Black Sea Project

AU2605084493 Sofia BTA in English 0816 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 26 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Ministry of Regional Development and Construction received a fax message from the World Bank's Board of Governors, saying that the bank approved the allocation of 350,000 U.S. dollars in aid for the Bulgarian Black Sea coast. The financial aid will pay the drafting of a Black Sea Coast Management Bill and the implementation of several programmes, personnel training, a control system and a geographical system, Mrs. Tsveta Kamenova, chief of the ministry's Regional Development Department, told STANDARD NEWS.

The World Bank set two conditions which must be met before the assistance is disbursed: The issuing of an ordinance on provisional rules and standards for Black Sea coast management and the establishment of a special management unit.

Government Ready To Send More Troops to FRY

LD2605192093 Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 26 (CTK)—The Czech Government is prepared to send parliament a proposal to increase the size of the Czech military unit taking part in the UNPROFOR peacekeeping mission on the territory of the former Yugoslavia if requested to do so by the United Nations, a government spokesperson said today.

The government also expressed approval for sending a field hospital to the area.

The Czech unit of 500 men would be strengthened to 1,000 because its current size makes it impossible to perform its normal activities, members of the government said following their session today.

Developments in this area (former Yugoslavia) are leading toward an agreement rather than military intervention, and safeguarding this agreement will require without question the engagement of United Nations forces, Agriculture Minister and Deputy Premier Josef Lux said.

Privatization Center To Begin Issuing Shares

AU2605155993 Prague CTK in English 1733 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 23 (CTK)—The Czech Center for Coupon Privatization (CKP) will start issuing shares tomorrow in Czech enterprises to Czech and Slovak citizens who obtained them during last year's first wave of coupon privatization in the former Czechoslovakia.

Jaroslav Lizner, director of the Center, told CTK today that the issuing of the shares, which will take place at numerous registration points, will last until the end of June.

The Czech Government decided to issue shares to holders of coupon booklets from the Czech and Slovak Republics on May 12. By this it abolished its decision from March 17 to suspend the issue of shares in Czech enterprises to Slovak share-holders in connection with problems ensuing from the division of former federal property.

According to the Institute of Information and Automation Theory of the Czech Academy of Science, 101.8 million shares in Czech companies were sold to individual holders of coupon booklets, and 176 billion shares to investment privatization funds during the first wave of coupon privatisation.

ODS Opposes Restitution of All Church Property

AU2605121293 Prague CTK in English 1919 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Cesky Dub, North Bohemia, May 22 (CTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) favors rectifying some injustices concerning church property, but opposes considering the church a physical person for restitution, said Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus at a press conference following today's session of the ODS Executive Council.

Only property which was confiscated from the Church after February 25, 1948, and which was in state hands at the moment the law (on restitution) was enacted, can be returned to the Church, Klaus said.

He said that materials submitted by the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) on the question of Church property were totally inconsistent with prior agreements and that they took the ODS by surprise. Linking spiritual questions of Christianity and higher principles with concrete property matters, he said, was a deep misunderstanding.

Accusing someone who has a different opinion about how many hectares of land someone should get of lacking a spiritual view of the world is really a gross mistake, and I am sorry that several coalition parties are doing that, Klaus said.

He said that the ODS executive council had prepared a four-page report on the restitution of Church property, which Klaus will submit to his coalition partners this week.

Klaus also said that the general inspector of the Czech Army should implement and ensure the vision of the parliament in enforcing laws in the Army. The ODS, he said, opposes having the general inspector outside the control of the parliament.

The security situation in the Czech Republic cannot be resolved by transferring more money to the interior ministry, Klaus said, adding that the ODS executive council had charged Interior Minister Jan Ruml and Minister of Finance Ivan Kocarnik with finding the needed funds in the current budget of the interior ministry.

Klaus said that he planned to create a position of minister without portfolio, to be filled by current minister of state inspection and auditing Igor Nemec, whose ministry will cease to exist June 30.

ODS Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak said that the situation at the CTK Czech news agency is not in order, but that the ODS executive council had not discussed the matter at their session today.

New Statistical Index Prepared for Economy

AU2605153993 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 25 May 93 pp 1, 2

[Pavel Prochazka report: "Economic Recovery Should Be Proved in a Few Days"]

[Text] The results of new statistical analyses—which Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus requested from some of his colleagues at the most recent meeting involving the economic ministers—will reveal that stagnation in economic growth has been caused more by external conditions and the Federation's breakup than by a general decline in output. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is now compiling official Statistical Office figures on small business, for which a recovery should be forecast.

Deputy Labor and Social Affairs Minister Kamil Janecek informed CESKY DENIK of this. An experimental economic index (the so-called natural index) is on the agenda. The first result from this index reveals a general decline in industrial output in the first quarter by only 2.1 percent. Thus, the preliminary results of the analyses of the statistical data on the increase in productivity and the level of wages in small businesses have been confirmed. A decline in industrial output of 2.1 percent would, according to the prime minister, correspond to the reaction to the Federation's breakup, currency separation, and the "wait-and-see" privatization policy and the speculative influences associated with it, and not to general economic decline.

So-called natural indices were formerly used regularly, for example, in the United States in the 1930's. The value indices used—comparing inputs and outputs—have their advantages and disadvantages. During a period of acute changes in prices and price relations, they can, however, indicate changes much more readily and thus clearly correct the results of the value indices. Current standard indices have, according to Janecek, ceased reflecting true development, or they reflect it with a certain delay. (Official statistical indices reveal a decline in industrial output by 8.1 percent. The figures for small businesses, which should develop most dynamically, are assessed only on the basis of expert estimates and the small businesses themselves are not monitored.)

Economy Minister Karel Dyba, who has on several occasions cast doubt on the Czech Statistical Office's results and who forecasts a recovery for small businesses, holds the same view as Janecek. "Even among large industrial entities, which as a whole record a decline in productivity, only enterprises with fewer than 100 employees are—on the contrary—showing an increase in productivity by 1 percent," said Janecek. This forecast is, somewhat paradoxically, confirmed by the rise in electricity consumption among "small consumers."

Janecek explains this by the fact that roughly "three quarters of the private medium and small-sized sectors take their electricity from the small consumers' grid." The two representatives also find evidence for the start of recovery in the rapid increase in consumption of construction materials, mainly cement. Janecek rejects the view that the higher consumption of cement is due to uncontrolled exports, adding that "if something like this were going on, it could not be to the extent recorded in the statistics."

Yugoslav Company Denies Violation of Embargo

AU2605154593 Prague CTK in English 1738 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 24 (CTK)— The mission of the Yugoslav company Inex-Interexport Ltd. in the Czech Republic observes the trade sanctions imposed by the United Nations, its director Zoran Pavlovic told CTK today.

He added that the company was mediating goods exports and imports for countries not affected by the U.N. sanctions and embargo, and was ready to present necessary documents any time.

Pavlovic said the company's activity had almost stopped, and it would have to close down its activities in the Czech Republic unless normal trade contacts were resumed soon.

He added that the company's annual turnover had totalled more than 20 million USD before trade had been curbed by the U.N. for the first time.

With the split of Czechoslovakia, Inex-Interexport opened its office in Slovakia as well. It has been established in the Czech Republic since 1967, Pavlovic said.

The former state-owned foreign trade corporation Inex-Interexport is listed among 165 companies allegedly trying to circumvent the U.N. sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia.

Police Report German 'Hooliganism' Near Border

AU2605151893 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Usti nad Labem, North Bohemia, May 24 (CTK)— The reportage headlined "A Trench War in the Wild East" and published by the German weekly STERN, excessively dramatizes the situation on the Czech-Saxon border, Frantisek Hammerle from the Usti nad Labem District Police told CTK today.

The reportage, which was also reprinted by some Czech dailies, describes the experience of Eserbach, Germany, citizens with Czech robbers.

Hammerle admitted that at the end of 1992 and at the beginning of 1993, crime targeting property increased in the Eserbach region. Therefore the guards were reinforced on the Czech-German border in the area. This measure resulted in a decline in the crime committed by the Czechs, Hammerle stressed.

He said that the citizens of Czech towns and villages situated close to the border, were also disturbed by some German tourists' behavior. Hooliganism and alcohol-related riots have been most frequented cased. Attempts by German citizens to trade in Czech girls have also been registered, he added.

Germany has already informed the Czech Republic of its intention to build road-blocks on some local roads near the Czech border as of June 1 in order to prevent illegal border crossings. The barriers would include meter-wide ditches dug across the road or steel bars, the keys to which would be held by both German and Czech guards, Hammerle said.

Toth Interviewed on Economic Issues

AU2605203493 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 24 May 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Finance Minister Julius Toth by Iva Kerna; place and date not given: "'Mysteries' Are No Mysteries"]

[Text] [Kerna] At a meeting with Luxembourg Crown Prince Henri recently, the Czech Republic's president said that they must be very careful and not let their cooperation with Slovakia assume a paternalistic character. Do you have the impression—when participating in meetings of property commissions that you are heading together with Mr. Kocarnik—that this is what could happen?

[Toth] If we accepted paternalism in our meetings on property matters, we would find ourselves in an unpleasant situation. The Slovak Republic, as an independent legal entity and a new entity subject to international law, must make efforts to assert itself in all spheres. It cannot hide under the wing of someone—not under the wing of the Czech Republic at all. I believe that if there was such an attitude on the Czech side, it would not lead to the activity of Slovak people. In this case, I believe President Havel is right. I am only wondering why they speak about paternalism in a manner indicating that someone on the Czech side would like to behave like that at all. Discussions and attitudes toward the property division do not provide any reason for such considerations.

[Kerna] Good accounts make good friends.... This is simple philosophy that should be applied toward the Russian Federation. During your March visit in Moscow, you and A. Golovaty, deputy finance minister of the Russian Federation, agreed that there should be a solution found before this July. What are the new developments in that problem?

[Toth] We agreed that in July we should get a more clear picture on this issue. It has become obvious, however, that the situation in the Russian Federation is more complicated than we had previously thought, and many facts about which we spoke cannot be solved that simply, as we expected. We want to sign a treaty with the Russian Federation about prevention of double taxation and the protection of investments. However, in view of the changes taking place in the highest bodies of the Russian Federation, this is being postponed. I believe, however, that the treaty will be signed, finally. We are extremely interested in the treaty on the protection of investments. We wanted to get shares in Russian companies in turn for our claims in Russia, but this would make sense only if the investments that we would have acquired that way were protected by a treaty.

[Kerna] The Czech press is writing about "mysterious trade with Slovakia," the consequence of which is the revaluation of the Slovak koruna. What is the solution in this mystery?

[Toth] I do not know why this should be a mystery. Wherever I was—in London at the talks, then in Budapest—they spoke about it as about a mystery. I remember the statement of the first Slovak finance minister of 1939-1945, who, under the complicated European conditions, was able to secure prosperity for Slovakia with the few korunas that were left to us then. They also asked him how it was possible that he was able to utilize economic laws.... He said that it was because he did not listen to those who were saying that Slovakia would turn to ashes within three months.

In my opinion, Slovak citizens and entrepreneurs are beginning to believe in their own capabilities, and they are unleashing their entrepreneurial activity in the independent Slovak Republic. This is why those predictions do not come true, and those who believed this propaganda are surprised. On the other hand, this is creating Slovakia's good reputation. This will finally bring a reversal in the thinking of the people who adopted the theory that Slovakia is unable to act on the international scene as a sovereign state. Without wanting to deprive them of their ideas, I must say that Slovakia's economic results, prosperity, and ability to join the international division of labor show that they simply were not right.

Foreign Minister on Joining Council of Europe

LD2605164693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 May 93

[Excerpt] We will now briefly return to yesterday afternoon's press conference at the office of the government. The agenda of the 51st meeting of the cabinet was communicated to the journalists by the ministers of the interior and foreign affairs, focusing, naturally, on those points that concerened their departments.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik mentioned what stage the talks on incorporating the Slovak Republic in the Council of Europe are in now. Jarmila Tosecka asked a question for Radiojournal in this connection.

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] Accepting the Slovak Republic in the Council of Europe in June is talked about in our country, more or less, as a fact. What factor could jeopardize this date in the sense that it would postpone it? Are there any unequivocal conditions for our acceptance in the Council of Europe as regards the problems of national minorities?

[Moravcik] I would not like to speak about what might prevent our acceptance, so as not to prompt someone to prevent it. As to the second part of the question, a mission of the Council of Europe was here several times, examined the conditions, and presented a report. This report was positive, that is, acceptance in the Council of Europe is being recommended, but two problems were pointed out regarding the national minorities, and we talked about them many times: bilingual names and the use of Christian names. In this direction we pledged that we will take the necessary steps to get to the European standard. In this connection political decisions have been adopted because implementation of this pledge will require certain legislative adjustments that will require a certain time. It was sufficient for us to make such a

pledge and we have made it. From a formal point of view there are no obstacles which we have not overcome.

Naturally, on the basis of this report, the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe will then have a discussion, any member of the parliamentary assembly can raise other objections and other questions. But so far we have reacted to all that has been asked of us, each problem which was open, and I have gained the conviction that we reacted in a satisfactory way, in the way that has been accepted. [passage omitted] [end recording]

HZDS Rejects Calls for Early Elections

LD2605143393 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1030 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] The Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] today rejected the possibility of holding early elections. Alexandr Picha reports from Bratislava.

[Begin Picha recording] Roman Kovac, vice chairman of the Meciar-led movement, declared today that early elections will cause delay in all areas. They will allegedly also cause an unfavorable situation at a time when Slovakia is to be accepted into the Council of Europe and other institutions.

HZDS representatives today also directly rejected the possibility of a coalition government in Slovakia. Roman Kovac said that the time for reconstruction of the government has begun. He however refused to specify which ministers of the minority government will be changed. The debate on this subject within the HZDS has allegedly not been concluded.

The Meciar-led movement nonetheless does not directly envisage the participation of other parties in the Slovak Government. He [Meciar] allegedly wants to select politically unaffiliated experts into the posts vacated. According to unofficial reports changes in the post of at least three Slovak ministers are being prepared, who, according to opposition deputies, are to be transferred to ambassadorial posts. The talk is about Ministers Dolgos, Kucera, Sobona, and Keltosova. Local observers however, believe that their push out of the Slovak Government could cause an even greater destabilization of the Meciar-led HZDS than when Milan Knazko was pushed out. [end recording]

Economic Impact of Meciar Trip to U.S. Viewed

AU2605193493 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 May 93 p 3

[Ivan Horsky commentary: "Good Intentions, Advice, and Promises"]

[Text] While assessing the outcome of the talks conducted by the prime minister and his deputy in the United States, I have intentionally avoided any evaluation of the contribution of the trip to the economy. One of the reasons was that—at least as Vladimir Meciar and the other members of the delegation told us—we have been more or less dealing with not exactly binding promises.

A basic agreement has been reached in the IMF that upon an examination by a special mission (that will arrive on 27 May), and its approval of the economic and financial policy of the government, the IMF head himself will come to make an on-the-spot decision whether Slovakia will receive the proposed $90 million to stabilize its currency. Well, for a neophyte it might really sound bombastic. During our visit in Washington, however, it was announced that Pakistan will get credit in the value of $1.25 billion. Moreover, our Hungarian neighbor has a promise of a mere $400 million, despite the international financial institutions having still recently refused to grant the country anything because of its failing financial discipline.

The Slovak delegation attempted to attract the interest of the U.S. Administration and the business circles in the conversion of Slovak arms industry. The only interest shown to date was a preliminary offer of $6 million for consultations, i.e. for the reimbursement of salaries and travel costs of the American experts who, of course, do not have any magic wand either with the aid of which—over the ocean or right here—one could turn around the situation in arms production wherein too many businesses compete for the diminishing market. Expressed perhaps not diplomatically, but clearly, it suits the American arms factories if Slovakia, considered a serious and cheap competitor, is out of the game. Therefore the acceleration of production, implied by Meciar, even gilt-wrapped in the need for producing funds for the elimination of the arms industry, has been a priority accepted in America with mistrust expressed, so-to-speak, by their surprise and a recommendation that it would be better to look for alternate production programs.

After all, the most one can expect from the Clinton administration is a few crumbs. The economic problems of the United States are mounting, for the plan of financial recovery has obviously failed, and both the government and the Democratic Party have been severely shaken by White House speculations on how to improve the budget deficit by introducing new taxes, particularly on energy, that would, while reducing waste, increase the cost of production inputs and the price of the outgoing goods. That would further weaken the faint economic growth and freeze Clinton's ambitions to the freezing point.

Moreover, the American businessmen have not exactly swamped Slovakia or, for that matter, the entire Central Europe. So far, their strategy of the fast and maximum profit has not changed, and the conditions here are not yet right for this. In addition, the larger Russian or Ukrainian markets attract them far more, and Slovakia could only play the second fiddle.

During the Congress talks, the prime minister even hinted at the possibility of dusting off the Marshall Plan for the postcommunist countries. Something similar, only under the trademark of triangular measures, has already been proposed by the former head of the federal diplomacy, Jiri Dienstbier. He was applauded for this, but so far nothing has come out of it. It is simple; there is no money for this and, above all, political will and courage because, with respect to the recession in the West, it would be difficult to justify.

It appears that we cannot depend on outside help as the only means of salvation. There are other ways. All one needs is to have one's wits about him and not be scared of nonstandard solutions. particularly regarding one's former partners. One should not put artificial obstacles in their way and vanquish the ossified bureaucracy and corruption, of which they complained even across "the big pond," as they turn off even the few potential patrons. As long as we do not keep our own threshold clean, no manna will fall here. Only in the form of promises, empty promises—and that is not the heavenly manna.

Data on Foreign Investment for First Quarter

AU2605113793 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 22 May 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "Foreign Capital in the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] Bratislava—A total of 3,188 enterprises with foreign capital participation operated in the Slovak Republic at the end of March 1993; they represented 16 percent of the private sector. In March alone, their number increased by 175, that is, 5.8 percent. An analysis of the development of the Slovak economy in the first quarter of the year, carried out by the Slovak Statistical Office, shows that the number of foreign-owned firms has increased 15.4 percent since the end of last year and the number of international organizations increased 13 percent. Foreign capital invested in enterprises on the territory of the Slovak Republic reached the value of 7.7 billion korunas at the end of the first quarter of 1993, that is, $268.1 million. Investors from Austria, Germany, and the United States maintained their leading position.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 24 May on page 1 carries a slightly different 200-word version of the above TA SR report, which adds: "With 2.3 billion Slovak korunas invested in 970 organizations, Austria maintains the leading position among foreign investors; 30.5 percent of the volume of foreign capital invested in enterprises in the Slovak Republic has been invested by Austria. Germany occupies second place with a 21.6-percent share in the invested foreign capital. German investors have invested 1.7 billion korunas in 556 organizations."]

Protocol on Police Cooperation Signed With Russia

LD2505160593 Budapest MTI in English 1413 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Interior Ministers Peter Boross of Hungary and Viktor Yerin of Russia signed a protocol on direct police cooperation between their two countries in Budapest today.

Yerin was on a three-day visit to Hungary, at the end of which both ministers briefed the press on the implementation of cooperation agreements signed two years ago.

Under the new protocol, Russian and Hungarian police will cooperate more closely to combat international crime, smuggling and drug trafficking.

They will exchange experience in training and will purchase arms and equipment from one another. The Hungarian and Russian police also will cooperate more closely in immigration matters.

Defense Minister Fur Leaves for Ukraine

LD2705100593 Budapest MTI in English 0700 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 27 (MTI)—Defence Minister Lajos Fur left for Kiev on a two-day official visit this morning, at the invitation of his counterpart, Colonel-General Konstantin Morozov.

Talks will be held on ways to develop bilateral links.

Fur will outline Hungary's view on the region's security policy situation, and Morozov give briefs about the reorganization and planned reduction of Ukrainian armed forces.

Fur is also scheduled to meet Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

Goncz Urges Aid Strategy for Eastern Europe

LD2605135093 Budapest MTI in English 1055 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 26 (MTI)—President Arpad Goncz met International Finance Corporation (IFC) Vice-President William Ryrie in his office this morning.

Goncz praised the IFC's help to Hungary so far, but stressed the need for additional capital.

He proposed international financial organizations, along with developed Western countries, draw up a strategy to help Eastern Europe catch up with the Western half of the continent.

Goncz said Western capital was vital to upgrade infrastructure in Hungary. Ryrie said IFC relations with Hungary started in the mid-1980s and agreed that funds should be spent chiefly on roads and telecommunications.

HDF Acting Chairman Announces Resignation

LD2605210093 Budapest MTI in English 2039 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 26 (MTI)—Acting-president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) Lajos Fur announced resignation from his post with immediate effect, at the Wednesday evening session of the HDF national presidium.

In a letter addressed to HDF president Jozsef Antall and the party presidium, Fur justified his step by, among others, noting: "I have recently come forward with a proposal, which I have repeated on several occasions, to end the openly ongoing and intolerable 'fraternal war' within the party."

The main point of the proposal was to put an end to the debates with compromises, and for the party to continue to operate within the form of a new structure, or for the representatives of the trends professing various views to separate in a peaceful and civilized manner.

However, this solution did not—apart from a weak and uncertain reaction—receive firm support from anyone or any trend.

"My efforts remained unsuccessful," Fur wrote.

"The failure made it clear to me that time has passed over my balancing role in the matter. The final end to the drama requires another person," he noted.

Fur wrote that those who launched and continued the internal war of the HDF (mainly the so-called liberal wing under Jozsef Debreczeni and the so-called popular-national wing highlighted by the name of Istvan Csurka) committed unjustifiable, even historical-scale crimes. Fur also condemns—without naming any names—those who were unable to stop this process.

HDF spokesman Karoly Herenyi told journalists Lajos Fur will not resign as minister of defence, and that no government crisis is expected.

Antall, Csurka Discuss Political Differences

LD2605161293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Jozsef Antall and Istvan Csurka are holding negotiations to narrow the gap between their differing views. The negotiations are taking place in the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] headquarters, the party spokesman has revealed. Karoly Herenyi said that the fate of the Hungarian-Ukrainian treaty cannot be called into question. He described as unfounded Istvan Csurka's accusations according to which the HDF is preparing to form an alliance with the Alliance of Young Democrats. The spokesman also expressed his view that Istvan Csurka's departure from the HDF cannot be in the interest of party chairman Jozsef Antall, because in this way he would also lose a proportion of the party membership.

Christian Democrat Leader Outlines Party Goals

AU2605121393 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 May 93 p 9

[Interview with Terezia Csaszar, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "We Do Not Avoid Our Coalition Partners in the Debate"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Pinter] Does the fact that we have mentioned privatization many times in this interview indicate that, for the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the assessment of privatization will be one of the most important elements of campaign strategy?

[Csaszar] Yes, because good economic policy and a strong economy cannot exist without adequate privatization and new forms of ownership.

[Pinter] This way, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] may be forced to defend its privatization practice tooth and nail in the campaign. Will this create such a distance between the KDNP and MDF that they cannot even consider further coalition?

[Csaszar] Keeping its credibility in front of the public is the most important thing for the KDNP. Who is able to form a coalition with whom will be decided by the voters. If the KDNP and MDF are both given this opportunity, then our coalition can be maintained. The 1994 coalition agreement will be completely different from the 1990 one, however. In 1994, the parties, including the KDNP, will have a government platform in addition to a campaign program. The elements of these have to be carefully coordinated and the obligations have to be laid down in writing and publicized.

[Pinter] What kind of coalition agreement do you expect?

[Csaszar] There are three major tendencies in Hungarian domestic politics, namely the conservative Christian national bloc, the liberal tendency, and the socialists. I trust that society will recognize that, in the long run, conservative politics in the European sense and assertion of the Christian value system provides assurance for solving our problems and launching growth. In other words, I hope that society will give this political philosophy another chance to govern. Foreign examples also suggest that this expectation is realistic.

[Pinter] It would be strange if you counted only on this possibility. In the government coalition of a number of countries in Western Europe, Christian Democrats can work quite well with the representatives of other political tendencies.

[Csaszar] We are also considering other coalitions. This is what reason dictates. We also have foreign examples, like in the Netherlands, where the Christian Democrats are the balancing force between the liberals and the social democrats. We want to turn into a modern Christian Democratic party that can stand up to West European standards and which is willing to be part of any political arrangement, providing the conditions are right. We also need adequate partners for this, however.

[Pinter] There is a widespread belief that the KDNP wants to avoid opposition status after 1994 at all costs. Is this true?

[Csaszar] No, it is not. As with all parties, the KDNP also tries to have as large a role as possible, but not at all costs. Our preparation and social support has increased visibly: Name one other party whose membership has increased from 3,000 to 23,000 in the past three years! We would certainly be in a better position in 1994 if we had not accepted a responsibility for government in 1990. We think that we can account for our past actions to the voters and we are not mistaken when we expect substantial support.

[Pinter] According to your goals, who will the KDNP represent?

[Csaszar] Naturally, as a people's party, we would like for it to be the party of the entire society. We mainly seek to be the party of those who form the middle classes, which are still very flexible. We are expecting the support of small- and medium-sized enterprises, and we also want to represent those on the peripheries. To achieve our goal, we drew up proposals on enterprise-friendly and family-friendly tax laws that would ease social tensions and reflect a just, general, and proportionate distribution of taxation, on reducing the problems of crisis areas, and on reducing unemployment. We want to change the system of family supplements and generally want the elements of a social market economy to prevail. We would like to transfer the remaining state-owned land to the ownership of the local governments, and we would like to see the beginning of infrastructural investment throughout the country. We are still working hard on our campaign platform, therefore, I cannot tell you any more details. [passage omitted]

MSZP Chairman on Trade Union Elections

AU2605155593 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 May 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Left-Wing Danger Is Unfounded"]

[Text] The validity of the elections [social security local government elections] is a pleasant surprise for me because the citizens had to decide in a very complicated matter. The elections have shown that there is no apathy or indifference, and this is encouraging for the general elections, Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], said in response to our question. No one can question the role of trade unions in Hungary and this is a huge step forward. The gentlemen who now talk about left-wing danger have never actually explained what they mean by this. The MSZP is a left-wing party

and the whole world acknowledges our role in the change of the regime. Pluralism and the market economy would never have come about without us. We are not mad, the old social system was an antimarket system and it had to be overthrown. In my view, the very big victory of the National Federation of Trade Unions [MSZOSZ] can be attributed to the fact that it has always spoken in concrete terms and in a way that people can understand, has not threatened with strikes, and it has not made any proposals to give up the market economy. It has made concrete suggestions to save or change the various industries. This threat of left-wing danger has no basis at all and people increasingly reject the reference to this. We respected the 1989 election results, and would very much like it if the same happened to the results of the trade union elections, Horn said.

Statistical Office Reports on Economic Performance

AU2605083293 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 May 93 p 13

["V.I."-signed report: "Central Statistical Office Report on First Quarter of 1993—The Value of Investments Continues To Be Low"]

[Text] In the first quarter of 1993, food industry and chemical industry production and exports decreased much more than predicted. The vegetable oil industry and the transportation sector are not in a better position either, although industrial production as a whole remained unchanged in the first quarter of 1993, compared with the same period last year; moreover, production in March 1993 exceeded the production of March 1992 by 3.4 percent. All this transpires from the report of the Central Statistical Office on Hungary's economic performance in the first quarter of 1993.

Exports in the first quarter of 1993 made up 155 billion forints, 21.9 percent less than in the same period last year. Imports exceeded 215 billion forints. The customs-statistic turnover of goods showed a negative balance of about $700 million, and the negative balance in the current balance of payments, based on preliminary data, made up $135 million in January.

Within exports, the greatest drop took place in the food industry, with a turnover of only $366 million, compared with $600 million last year. The next greatest drop took place in light industry and the chemical industry. The smallest drop took place in the building-material industry (3-4 percent).

Imports in the first quarter of 1993 dropped by 5 percent compared with the same period in 1992. Imports of machines and equipment dropped by 15 percent, and this shows the weakness of the investment demands. At the same time, the imports of consumer goods increased, mainly raw material for paid work, and in the wake of the increasing imports of private cars.

Close to three-quarters of the negative balance of $700 million in trade originated in our trade with developed countries, but a $200 million deficit also emerged in our trade with Eastern European countries.

Industrial production in the first quarter of 1993 was similar to that prevailing in the same period of last year, but there was also a 3.4 percent increase in March. Chemical industry production dropped by 5 percent, but engineering industry production increased by 15 percent while metallurgical industry and metal processing industry production increased by 10 percent. The drop in food industry production continued in the first three months of 1993. Both production and procurement in animal husbandry dropped. It is highly probable that the drop in the stock of live animals will continue. The handing over of compensation land is progressing slowly. Food industry production dropped by almost 12 percent in the first quarter of 1993, compared with the same period in 1992. The greatest drop took place in the sugar industry, although one must add that last year's production was outstandingly high. The vegetable oil industry also registered a considerable drop in production.

The performance value of investments dropped by almost 7 percent in the first quarter of 1993, compared with the same period in 1992. Some 31 percent of investments took place in the processing industry, and 19 percent went to the development of transportation, storage, post, and telecommunication services.

The goods/tonne/kilometer performance of transportation dropped by 38 percent, compared with the same period last year.

The number of registered unemployed increased by 5 percent in March, compared with the beginning of this year, but it dropped by 1.1 percent compared with February. There were almost 700,000 registered unemployed at the end of the first quarter of 1993; this means that the unemployment rate decreased to 13.4 percent from the previous month's rate of 13.6 percent.

Suchocka Meets With Sejm Leaders on Crisis

AU2605193093 Warsaw PAP in English 2234 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka met today with leaders of the parliamentary floor groups to present an offer of working out a non-conflict method of cooperation between political forces and groupings in an effort to resolve the government crisis before the confidence vote to be held in the Sejm (lower house) Friday.

Representatives of Solidarity, the Union of Real Politics, the Movement for the Republic of Poland and the Polish Action failed to attend the meeting.

Representatives of the parties forming the government coalition who gathered earlier on Tuesday declared that their parliamentary floor groups would vote against the no-confidence motion submitted by the Solidarity caucus.

According to the prime minister's press secretary, her meeting with parliamentary leaders today revealed differences and controversies among the parties. "The prime minister presented an offer of a non-conflict method of cooperation between political forces and groupings," he said, adding that Ms. Suchocka's proposals also covered a jointly prepared political calendar for solving the most pressing problems.

However, in the opinion of the majority of the participants in the meeting, the prime minister failed to present any new proposals.

Deputy Jozef Oleksy of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) commented that "the government's stand has not changed and the government does not want to talk with the SLD." Deputy Aleksander Luczak of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) observed that "talks do not change anything" and declared that his party intended to support the no-confidence motion.

Parliamentary leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) Krzysztof Krol proposed during the meeting that Prime minister Suchocka should offer the government's resignation ahead of the confidence vote in the Sejm.

The Presidium of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) which met Tuesday evening said that the lack of the government's reaction to proposals of talks made doubtful the party's support for the Suchocka government during the confidence vote.

The Peasant Agreement has not taken a final decision yet on how it is going to vote but stressed that it will be against if the government or the coalition officially turn for support to the SLD. In the opinion of Centre Alliance (PC) leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski, government has good chances of surviving the no-confidence vote.

Meanwhile, the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ, whose deputies form part of the democratic left alliance, adopted a stand Tuesday demanding earlier parliamentary elections "with this government or without it." According to the OPZZ unionists, the possibilities of the present legislative power have been exhausted.

No-Confidence Vote Scheduled for 28 May

AU2605131693 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 May 93 p 1

[Article by Igor Zalewski and Piotr Zaremba: "Will the Government Be Governing Beyond Friday?"]

[Text] "The no-confidence vote in the government will take place on Friday [28 May]," the Sejm Presidium has decided. The government camp rejected the conditions put forward by the Alliance of the Democratic Left [SLD], but some politicians belonging to the coalition say that there is a chance of an agreement with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL].

Throughout the day, SLD politicians waited for an invitation for talks with the government or coalition parties, but Prime Minister Suchocka did not receive them until the evening, at the same time as the leaders of other parliamentary groups. They were not offered any separate talks. Therefore they will most probably support the Solidarity motion to dismiss the government, although one of the SLD's leaders, Josef Oleksy, avoided any unequivocal statements.

Rumors have been heard in the corridors of the Sejm that the government side may find it easier to do a deal with the PSL. Although PSL politicians have made assurances that they are opposed to the present government, and their demands for changes in the economic policy so as to give it a greater anti-recession character are even more radical than the SLD's demands, nevertheless it is already known that club leaders have held talks with Democratic Union club leader Bronislaw Germek and with the leaders of the Christian-National Union Henryk Goryszewski and Wieslaw Chrzanowski. Some coalition politicians have suggested that the PSL is ready to make concessions, for example, by not imposing club discipline during the Friday vote. A split in PSL votes could save the government.

The vote of the Solidarity club will certainly also be split, for Solidarity deputies not supporting the no-confidence motion have been released from the obligation to adhere to the Solidarity National Commission decision initiated by Solidarity club leader Bogdan Borusewicz. In the presence of Solidarity chief Marian Krzaklewski, whose views have become increasingly radical lately, Borusewicz said he would resign from the post of club chief if he were forced to vote against the Suchocka government. The Solidarity club, let us recall, is divided into pro and anti-government tendencies. In important votes, each usually votes in its own way.

The Peasant Agreement [PL], which recently quit the government coalition, has not adopted any stance. But

the PL club vote will probably be split, just as it was in the most recent votes on major government legislation.

If a part of the PL and Solidarity and most of the independent deputies do vote in favor of the government, and the PSL or most of the PSL abstain from voting, the Suchocka government may survive.

KPN Urges Suchocka To Resign

LD2605163493 Warsaw PAP in English 1332 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—Chairman of the parliamentary caucus of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) Krzysztof Krol at Wednesday's press conference appealed to Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to resign from the post.

KPN claims that the present situation has shown that the government is not fit to govern, Krol said. Over the past ten months, the issues in industry, banking, agriculture and public sector have not been solved. The government, who has not been able to govern for such a long time, should openly admit that and step down, he said.

Brochures called "The Moczulski Plan" were distributed at the conference. The brochure includes a set of proposals to solve a political crisis and calls "democratic Sejm parties to reach a general agreement".

This alliance, while "refraining from embittering the climate and acting with a sense of full responsibility" should bring about the resignation of the government, form an interim cabinet, dissolve the Sejm and hold general elections and a referendum followed by general elections under new electoral law.

Suchocka Addresses Sejm Session

WS2705110393 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0755 GMT 27 May 93

[Address by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to the Sejm session in Warsaw on 27 May—live]

[Text] After 10 months of work, the government, led by me, faces the test of a no-confidence debate and vote. This is a normal situation in parliamentary democracies and a consequence of the legislature's right of political control over the government, as envisioned by the constitution. These are constitutional provisions for which the democratic opposition, including Solidarity, has fought for. This government emerged at the will of the parliament, and at the parliament's will it may cease to govern.

However, there are circumstances not connected with the constitution that cannot but give rise to reservations. First, the motion for the no-confidence vote was been put forward by the Solidarity committee, without whose mediation the government would not have been formed last summer. We are dealing with something more than the simple withdrawal of support on the part of the Solidarity lawmakers. If we take into account our common accomplishments, the fruit of a couple of hundred hours of talks and negotiations, which resulted in the pact on state-run enterprises, such an abrupt turnaround in the National Committee's and deputies' committees' policy toward the government is hard to explain. Backing the motion for the no-confidence vote with a threat to launch a general strike places another question on the agenda—that of Solidarity's attitude not only toward the government, but also toward the legislature and to the principles of a democratic and law-governed state. [applause]

Second, the motion has been supported by the parliamentary opposition, with whom the current government has always sought accord on the issues that are vital to Poland for the sake of common wealth, reforms, and national interests. None of the previous governments that originated in Solidarity cared much for all the parties' support for the necessary reforms, nor did they move as far in this direction as the current government. The very composition of the complex coalition making up the current cabinet is proof of the desire to win the broadest support for what has been accomplished, and for what is yet to be done in the name of responsibility for the state. One way or another, any responsible government will have to do this in order not to waste the efforts, sacrifices, and hopes of the entire Polish society. These are hopes for economic development, improvement of the people's material situation, and the civilized progress of the state.

In democracies, the opposition makes a decision to overthrow the government, if it has a well-prepared alternate program in store, as well as a team capable of replacing the acting cabinet. To the best of my knowledge, the current parliamentary opposition has neither an alternate program for a new broad coalition nor a (?majority) formula for a new government. This is a dangerous situation for the state. It is hard to understand the lack of responsibility for the continuity of governing on the part of lawmakers elected in the course of general elections. I do not claim that there is no alternative to this government in the legislature. However, I am concerned with the fact that nobody has presented it so far, regardless of the situation. It appears as though we are being told to jump from a diving platform without checking to see if there is water in the pool. [applause]

Third, in my opinion, the current government has not exhausted its potential. It has a plan of action up to the next elections. A great many initiatives have been launched and are now being carried out, either by means of the right of legislative initiative, or by the Council of Ministers and the ministries. The most important of these are the previously mentioned pact on state-run enterprises, halting the crisis of the public finance system, the public administration reform that will serve our citizens and governments for decades, and the reform of the budget sphere and social security system. Finally, we have worked out a totally new approach to working on the budget for 1994, and this work has

already started, in order to hold a realistic and peaceful debate prior to the budget's adoption.

Today, a government that has done a lot and has begun to do more is facing a no-confidence vote. If the election campaign were to start in the next few days, many of these things would be slowed down or even halted. I am afraid that the creation of a new government of national accord—and this is the only government that can rule Poland today—will be even more complicated than the creation of the existing coalition. The current organization of the parliamentary opposition and their program do not promise a quick response to the challenge which must be met if we want parliamentary democracy in Poland to consolidate itself as a pattern of governing that is accepted by society.

Fourth, it is a paradox that the no-confidence vote will be held in a situation where the economic revival is becoming ever more vivid. It is slow, but real. Now that unemployment has been curbed and Poland's international prestige strengthened, when we finally have a chance to draw state employees into the very complicated process of property reforms, at a time when the hard work and sacrifices of the Poles over a number of years are beginning to yield dividends.

Sir Marshal, High Chamber: The government that came into being 10 months ago has always been open to the reasoning and the postulates of political forces and trade unions. A government based on such a complicated coalition must be open and seek support on the part of all the parliamentary factions. There has not been a single relevant intitiative for which we have not pleaded for understanding and support from a base broader than that of the coalition. However, compromise has its limits. These limits have been defined by the interest of reforms and by the national interest. We cannot overstep these limits. We cannot have on our consciences the responsibility for destroying the budget. This budget was not determined by a whim. It has been determined by necessity. We cannot carry out the programs of different opposition parties in our own name. Finally, we cannot meet the demands of some groups of employees at the cost of others, or by violating approved economic principles and budgetary limits.

Every responsible government has two responsibilities: that of taking care of the national interests and the wealth of its citizens, and that of thinking about possible consequences of its activities in terms broader than the perspective of a few months. Becaue of this, every government is doomed to face a conflict with groups protecting their special interests, and with politicians staring only at one chosen goal. This is not the fate of my government alone. This has been and this will be the fate of every government treating its mission seriously, and there is no getting away from this fate. I am deeply convinced that the Poles are anticipating three things from their government: accord wherever it is possible; peace that guarantees efficient activity; and honest labor strengthening the state's vitality and improving the lives of its citizens. My government is still ready to act according to these principles.

Sejm Rejects Postponement of Vote

LD2705092493 Warsaw PAP in English 0859 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The Sejm (lower house) on Thursday rejected a proposal put forward by Deputy Ryszard Bugaj of the Union of Labour (UP) to postpone a debate on a no-confidence motion in the Hanna Suchocka government until the Sejm's next meeting.

Walesa Attends Sejm Session

LD2705101193 Warsaw PAP in English 0939 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—President Lech Walesa arrived in the Sejm (lower house) on Thursday morning to take part in the chamber's debate on the no-confidence motion in the Hanna Suchocka cabinet.

SLD To Vote Against Suchocka

LD2605223293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] parliamentary floor group has decided to vote for the motion of no confidence in Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's government. This means that the meeting between Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and Social Democracy of the Polish Republic Chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski, which preceded the meeting of the group, and the declarations made there were not enough to change the earlier position of his party.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] We have all along stated our readiness for talks. All this is probably taking place too late, and much time has been lost here. I am thinking about the differences in the ruling coalition which says one thing through Deputy Prime Minister Goryszewski and another through Prime Minister Suchocka. What is valid as far as I am concerned is the opinion of the head of government, and it follows that in a normal atmosphere talks would be possible on these fundamental issues, that is, the public sector, the fight against unemployment, and anti-recession actions, with the SLD, with experts' participation. But if these were to take place, it would be after the vote, which is the great unknown lying ahead of us. [end recording]

ZChN Opposes No-Confidence Motion

LD2705123693 Warsaw PAP in English 1216 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The Christian National Union (ZChN) would vote against the no-confidence motion in the government, leader of the ZChN parliamentary caucus Stefan Niesiolowski said Thursday during the Thursday debate in the Sejm.

Niesiolowski dismissed claims that the downfall of the government might bring any good results. He charged the parliamentary caucuses that they intend to support the no-confidence motion with seeking power at any price. He stressed that the government should not be dismissed at the time when chances for the improvement of Poland's economic condition appeared.

Leader of the Polish Convention (KP) Aleksander Hall said that Friday's vote will be directed not only against the government but also against democracy.

According to Hall, there are no constructive reasons motivating the vote.

PC Supports No-Confidence Vote

LD2705125893 Warsaw PAP in English 1228 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—Leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski announced on Thursday in the Sejm that the PC Caucus would support the no-confidence motion in the government.

Kaczynski said that Poland is threatened with general political strike and the present government is not able to prevent it. He said that fundamental political changes could be made only by holding new parliamentary elections.

Leader of the Peasant Agreement (PL) Gabriel Janowski announced his Caucus would abstain in the vote on the no-confidence motion.

This government is better than no government at all, he said.

Leader of the Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) Jan Olszewski said that RDR would support the no-confidence motion. He stressed that RDR deputies are against the whole line of economic reform which ignores social moods in the conviction that "the invisible hand of the market" would solve all problems.

Henryk Kroll of the German minority was against the dismissal of the government, which he termed as "destruction."

OPZZ Demands Early Elections

AU2605154993 Warsaw PAP in English 1811 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—The national council of union activists of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) demanded that early parliamentary elections be held, after the 500 activists participating in today's session of the council concluded that the abilities of the present parliament have been exhausted.

According to the OPZZ representatives, Solidarity-affiliated elites are trying to take political advantage of the increasing alienation of society in order to bring about another "war at the top." Furthermore, according to the OPZZ, Solidarity intends to use a general strike as the mechanism by which to realize this goal.

The OPZZ union activists also concluded that Poland now needs essential changes in economic policy as never before, and that the Suchocka government has not made any progress in this regard to-date.

Deputy Prime Minister Pawel Laczkowski, who attended the OPZZ activists debate, stated that only a government looking for political advantage would print "worthless money." In his opinion the government cannot make empty promises, but added that any extra budgetary funds would be devoted to pay increases for public sector workers.

Labour Minister Jacek Kuron, also attending the debates, said that he supports the creation of a market economy in which "the average person will have a good life." However, he emphasized that this could only be achieved as a result of dialogue between powerful social partners. "If, however, trade unions become irresponsible, then I am afraid that their importance will decline. This would be my own personal defeat," added Kuron.

Leader of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) Aleksander Kwasniewski informed those gathered that if the government does not begin talks with the left, it (the SLD) will have cause enough to support the non-confidence motion in the government.

According to Kwasniewski, the SLD proposals regarding the budget, elections and the tightening-up of the fiscal system are matters which beg discussion.

SLD parliamentary deputy Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz stated that the SLD's unconditional support for the government could later lead to a situation where the group becomes the "prisoner of the ruling team."

The OPZZ has obliged its 17 parliamentary deputies to vote neither for nor against the non-confidence motion in the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka.

Farmers Demonstrate in Warsaw

LD2605130993 Warsaw PAP in English 0958 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—Farmers from all parts of Poland, belonging to the Self-Defence Farmers Union, Private Farmers Solidarity, Farmers Circles and the Union of Farmers, staged on Wednesday in the centre of Warsaw a protest rally demanding the change of the economic policy pursued by the government, particularly in regard to agriculture.

They also demand early elections and a competent government.

Teacher's Union Suspends Strike

LD2605152393 Warsaw PAP in English 1125 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—The main board of the Polish Teachers' Union (ZNP) on Wednesday decided to suspend all strikes organized by the ZNP and claimed that justified protests of education workers are used for political aims, president of the union Jan Zaciura has announced.

He said that the ZNP thinks it is necessary to resume negotiations with the government although the three rounds of talks ended only with declarations on the part of the cabinet.

He added that the union's members are ready to resume strike at a moment's notice.

Walesa Comments on Visit to Ukraine

LD2605192793 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1900 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] The special plane bringing President Lech Walesa back from Lvov landed at Okecie airport several minutes ago. Asked about the results of his visit to Ukraine, the president said:

[Begin Walesa recording] I think the visit itself—maybe you will see it on film—speaks of the fact that it came off after all. But, as for the results, well, we have to look for the results in different places. I think they will be sizeable. [end recording]

Commenting on the proposal by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to create security zones in central eastern Europe, the president said:

[Begin Walesa recording] We must strive for our security and for the security of Europe in general; but it would not be a good thing if we were to set up new structures, proposing new solutions which would divide us. President Kravchuk is seeking security and that is very good. We will seek it together. [end recording]

Suchocka Discusses Government Policy

WS2605140093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 25 May 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka by journalists Andrzej Jonas, Wieslaw Walendziak, Krzysztof Czabanski, and Dariusz Szymczcha in Warsaw on 24 May—recorded; broadcast in progress]

[Text] [Suchocka] ...to say at the beginning that I have invited you here to discuss with you the current social and political situation in our country. It must be admitted that it is the first time that we have dealt with such a clear case of the no-confidence vote. The previous parliament made an attempt to recall the government. Now we have a new Constitution; we have the vehicle of the no-confidence vote. We are dealing with a legal-constitutional fact, I would say. At the same time it is also a political fact.

I must say that I often hold meetings with journalists; you know about this very well. I also think a great deal of your opinions. However, very rarely has the great volume of work allowed me to meet with such respectable representatives gathered together.

[Jonas] Do you think that the current political crisis is different from the previous turning points in Poland, as far as intensity and possible outcomes are concerned?

[Suchocka] We have already dealt a couple of times with political crises in this country. You can call them crises, or political turning points. It often seemed that the reforms were being halted, and that another government would be formed which would take a different road. It turned out, however, that after every such political crisis, the new government continued the same policy. It always managed to splice the threads that, as it seemed, were beginning to fray. We are facing the question whether the situation is going to repeat itself. There is also a general question: What are the prospects of development, or overcoming the crisis? Will it always be that fraying threads, which may threaten the implementation of economic reforms, can be spliced together? Will there not come a time when they are so badly frayed that we will lose some of the things we have achieved thus far?

[Walendziak] I have a question for the prime minister. Perhaps the government should once again formulate a political platform? Or maybe it should be told that the current government is a temporary administration that will take the country up to the next election.

[Suchocka] We have a vision of the state; we have a vision of a certain direction in which we would like to move; we would not like to be pushed off course. I have said this many times, and now I want to reiterate that there are certain limits to a compromise which we are prepared to make, beyond which we cannot go. Now, there is the question of all those conditions being made by political parties. As a matter of fact, the conditions have been submitted clearly and quite sharply by the SLD [Left Democratic Union]. I have not met with the representatives of the party to discuss it; therefore, I only know the conditions from the media—from the press and television. I must say that among those conditions there was a strong proposal to amend the budget. I would like to emphasize very clearly that this condition cannot be fulfilled by this government, because this austerity budget is envisioned on the road which this government is taking.

When the PL [Peasant Agreement], which was then still a coalition party, put forward certain demands, we were adamant; we did not want to amend the budget, because we thought it was impossible. I am sure you would like to ask about the minimum prices here. Well, this problem was different; it could simply be done without increasing

the budget deficit. However, we could not make any other concessions. We could not agree to amending the budget. We could not promise this to Solidarity when a very important matter both for the government and all of us was being discussed; that is, improving the living standards of the budget-financed employees. Taking this into consideration, I believe that it would be a total misunderstanding if we now made concessions to an opposition party, when we have a no-confidence vote ahead of us. This would mean that the government is tough until a no-confidence vote threatens it. When it does, it swerves from its path and decides to amend the budget. We cannot accept this condition. We think that the amending of the budget, with this four-month balance sheet, would be equal to departing from the course of reforms proposed by this government in its program. Therefore, this proposal is not acceptable to us.

Moreover, I would like to make it clear that we are ready for talks; however, we cannot make concessions under the pressure of various conditions or ultimatums. This is how far the government can go. Here we must answer the question, or, rather, wake up to the most fundamental problem: in this parliament, in these conditions, each successive government will also be a coalition government. Therefore, in the first weeks, even months, certain rules of play for the coalition will have to be established. We must not think that if the no-confidence vote is passed, this government will resign to be replaced by a new one, which will be unanimous and backed by a wonderful parliamentary majority. There is no such possibility. To put it simply, some coalition must be formed which will have problems cooperating at the beginning. As a result, the program, which we are somehow implementing because we have worked out ways of cooperating with one other, will have to be discontinued. Therefore, the work that we have been doing may find its way to the Sejm several weeks or even months later than it should. This is because such are the rules of the game. I can add that all those who have witnessed these comings and goings of the successive governments are fully aware of a void of some kind between one government and the other. I would say even more: Actually, this situation begins when it is known that a no-confidence vote is to be held. Such a situation can be seen now. Therefore, I believe that the no-confidence motion should be resolved in the parliament as soon as possible; the situation should be clarified and not prolonged, because this is dangerous to the whole system.

The coalition parties have seen the process of the long and arduous negotiations on the pact [Pact on State Companies]. We were ready to forward the pact bills to the parliament around September. Also in September, the negotiations with the trade unions began, which, we thought, would end by mid-October. Then, we hoped that perhaps in November we would be able to submit the bills to the Sejm. This, however, did not happen. Miners' strikes as well as other problems prolonged the negotiations. Consequently, the Pact on Companies has arrived in parliament only recently. Now, even though we conducted lengthy negotiations with trade unions out of not wanting to move against them, one of the negotiators—a trade union—submits a no-confidence vote motion. This was what made the coalition parties decide to submit a motion to limit trade unions' rights. It was not prompted by the Pact on Companies. It was because the fruit of the detailed negotiations on the pact was a no-confidence vote motion. Here comes a question concerning the logic of these actions. I want to stress that I am afraid that irrespective of how this political turning point or political crisis will end, all the successive governments will be more restrained in their talks with trade unions. There will be a tendency to limit the rights of trade unions because, well, months of negotiations have yielded such an outcome.

[Krzysztof Czabanski] However, the fact that you and your ministers have a specific plan on your desks is not the only important thing here. What is also important is the question of whether the citizens will be able to benefit from the program. That is, the vision of the state that you mention cannot be an abstract idea. As a matter of fact, this is a way to get the people involved in reforming this state. They really must be convinced that the reforms are good for them; that it is in their vital, everyday interest. They should know that this is a chance to achieve better living standards, to embark on better careers.

[Suchoka does not respond]

[Szymczycha] I think, however, that the no-confidence vote motion shows a trace of the lack of social assent to this profile of changes, to this rate of the changes, to these results of economic changes. Certainly, this is not a commentary on this government alone; it is also a comment on a few previous governments that did not actually tell the budget-financed employees, the employees of big plants, or farmers, or mothers, or other social groups, how much all this was going to cost, and how long it would last.

[Suchocka] We call upon all forces in this country that want to strengthen this state, who feel responsible for it, who are not headed for a destruction of all of it with such difficulty... [pauses] When this government was being formed, we were fully aware that it was not possible to force a certain economic model against the people, or above the people, as it were. I am referring here to what you have said about the need to get people more involved. Among other things, this idea gave rise to the concept of the pact. For the government, the pact was supposed to be an attempt to approach state companies. It was, therefore, to be our reply to what had been criticized in the activities of the three previous governments. At the same time, by concluding the pact, we wanted to create some social protection, guaranteed by specific laws, for those who would take part in the privatization process outlined in the pact. All this was presented in the bills. I am far from saying that this solution is perfect or ideal. Nonetheless, it was a certain

attempt of presenting a concept of dealing with state companies in a novel manner; we did not want a situation where those companies would be further subsidized, even though there were no clear prospects for them. Also, it was an attempt to privatize those companies without issuing decrees. We wanted the employees of those companies, who often accuse the central authorities of making arbitrary decisions, to decide on their own individual path of privatization. I agree that there would be a need to gather all this and present it in a new demonstration of what has been done and what is yet to be done. I want to stress here that my political offer which I have put forward to the political parties was supposed to aim at this; that is, we should not sit down and say: We are organizing the election in May or September, and well, we will be sitting tight, preparing for the election campaign. No, I thought that it should be the other way around. We should sit down and discuss what should be done now, what every government will have to do. Delaying it is nonsense. If we are going to do it, then there should be a consensus that it can be done right away. Then we should do what must be done before the election campaign starts; only then should the date of the election be set. This, generally, was the message that I have been trying to convey. We should not focus our attention on the earlier date of the election, because this means that the election campaign would start immediately and nothing would get done.

Walesa Interviewed on Strikes, Government

AU2605093193 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 21-23 May 93

[PAP interview with President Lech Walesa by Ludwik Arendt and Zbigniew Krzyzanowski; place and date not given: "Things Cannot Carry On Like this..."]

[Text] [PAP] Following the "Solidarity" Parliamentary Club's submission of a motion calling for a vote of no confidence in the government, will you continue to support the Hanna Suchocka cabinet or will you support the trade unionists?

[Walesa] I agreed to lead Poland through a difficult period—I was probably the only person who realized how difficult a period it would be—and that is why what is important for me is not what is happening today, but how things will develop in future. I would reply that the system that we are constructing, what we are creating in general, suggests to us that we are not going about it the right way. No other government could manage better than Prime Minister Suchocka's under current conditions, with the present setup in parliament, with the powers it has and with the enormity of the tasks it faces. I will run foul of the trade unionists for saying this, but it is the truth.

We all bear a responsibility for what is happening today, we are not aware of the scale of the reforms, and we have not been able to create a rapid response system. Because we have old laws, because we have old habits and an old economy, we have to do what I have been talking about since the beginning, that is, draw up a general plan and at the same time create more opportunities for governments to deal rapidly with a great many matters. It was not possible to achieve that in parliament and a very poor setup has been created. We should note that the situation is similar to the one Marshal Pilsudski was faced with. If the marshal were in my position today, then he would do what he did and would do what I should do. However, I will not make that mistake and I have banked on something else, namely, that we will all conclude that things cannot remain as they are, that the things that are going on in the streets, in parliament, in the government, and in the president's office cannot carry on. We have to establish what the cause of all this is and make adjustments to the system so that our reforms are realized better.

At the same time, there is also another element you do not stress gentlemen. Actually, the system we have built has separated the elites from society to such an extent, separated them from public awareness, that we are referred to as "they." There are many reasons for this: the affair over the security service files, abuses, corruption, sluggishness in solving problems—this inclines people to think that "they" are satisfied, but people are not. So, in a way, the problem lies in a different place, I am aware of it, and I will try to find an answer.

[PAP] The "Solidarity" Parliamentary Club motion does not include the name of a candidate who would be the new prime minister. In accordance with the Constitution, if the Sejm approves the motion without electing a new chairman of the Council of Ministers, you will have two options, that of accepting the government's resignation or that of dissolving the Sejm. Let us assume that the motion will be approved by parliament. How will you react then?

[Walesa] I have just presented you with a lengthy line of argument, and you want short answers. Gentlemen, whatever emerges, it turns out badly. If parliament approves something, then it will sooner or later be overturned in the streets. That is not where the mistake lies. I have said previously that it is possible to work with this Sejm too until the end of its term of office, but the Sejm must make it possible to govern. It cannot assume executive power and take over the possibilities for acting.

The choice of prime minister.... We can consider all the options and no option will be satisfactory. Under these conditions, there is no person who could solve the problems that exist, and that is what society expects. That is so for various reasons: there are those, the left, who are counting on victory today, and there are others, those functioning badly, who are trying to achieve something in this chaos.... That is not the way we will solve issues. I hope I will propose a solution, but not along the lines that the mass media are reporting, or of what is being said in parliament or by politicians—that leads nowhere.

[PAP] But Mr. President, it is not the Sejm or parliament that is hindering the government in its work; it is the "Solidarity" trade union, which is demanding a change of government.

[Walesa] But we have to remember what the origin of this is, why people who have the evidence submitted by the prime minister that there is no money, say "what do we care about that." There would not be that kind of response if people believed the government and the president are doing everything that lies within the bounds of possibility and that they should be trusted. We have lost the mutual bond between ourselves and society. We have lost it, because of the affair about the files, the failure to deal with scandals. People are aware of that and that is why they say "we couldn't care less about all that"; you have as much as you need, your salaries are too high, your Mercedes are too big, and that is why if you are not bothered about all that, then we want something for ourselves too.

That is the situation, and that is the main reason for the current state of affairs. As long as people do not believe that the president and the government are doing all that they can, that they are seeking to be frugal, are trying to find solutions—as long as they do not believe that—then we will be continually changing governments every three months.

[PAP] In your opinion then, what lies at the heart of the matter? If there is a change of government, then it will be the sixth cabinet in four years. Are we incapable of making use of democracy?

[Walesa] We are capable of that, but a banana will not grow in Poland, because the climate is wrong. The climate has to be changed, but that is not always possible. That applies to us too. From the very beginning, I have been promoting a different type of government, from the outset I have said that Poland needs a different kind of government—one that can issue decrees. That does not hinder democracy or curb it, but makes effective government possible.

Someone might say why did you not put things right yourself? I have not done that, because I am banking on something else, that the people will wake up and realize that things cannot go on like this. We are all building an automobile, but one person is driving, and you cannot distract him by telling him what to do, because we will end up in a ditch. You have to chose the right people and give them a chance to direct things, and you cannot continually undermine and upset everything.... But for that to happen, we would have to bring about a situation in which following the collapse of this government, no other government would emerge. Even if a government were to emerge, society would still be opposed to it.

[PAP] The brakes are being applied in the vehicle you often talk about, and the road it is travelling along is blocked. Demonstrations outside the Belvedere are being organized under "Solidarity" slogans....

[Walesa] I am sorry, but we are seeing things in very superficial terms once again. I said what I would be striving toward in my election campaign. Today, I hear it said that they were empty slogans, that I have departed from them, that—you have heard this—I have betrayed people. I am very sorry, but if everything that I had declared had been realized, the situation would not be such as it is today. The only thing is that I had a choice: Should I have done it using compulsion, coercion? No, I left it all up to democracy, and the state of affairs now is leading to a situation where you would have to do what I talked about four years ago.

No one wanted to concede that I was right, and now people are becoming impatient, they bear grudges against us, because I have not accomplished what I said I would. People complain, but they fail to realize that I would be violating that principles that were proposed by the majority. I could not have done what Pilsudski did. I wanted to be better than the marshal, not to stage a coup, but to wait until people returned to the concept I proposed.

[PAP] Mr. President, if the Sejm passes a vote of no confidence in the government while not being in a position to appoint a new cabinet, will you appoint a presidential government then?

[Walesa] Yes, I will immediately assume that things can cannot carry on as at present, there cannot be a weak executive, parliament cannot interfere in the affairs of government, and the budget cannot be constantly amended. All this can be changed and it can be achieved with this parliament. I will propose that this parliament remains, on one condition, that governing is possible and that what was taken away from the president is returned to him.

Today, I still do not have the right [illegible] the replacement of a prime minister (I hold nothing against Mrs. Suchocka, and it is not her that I am concerned about), but it is a question of that right. The executive must be strong, controlled by parliament, but accountable to the president.

[PAP] Do you have a candidate to head a new government?

[Walesa] I do, of course, have all the solutions that are necessary and I will apply them when necessary. But it will not happen too quickly, we have to see this period through, we have to think things over. That cannot be done too quickly. I know what mistakes have been made, and I will try to correct them.

[PAP] Are Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and your economic adviser, Andrzej Olechowski, among the candidates that you have mentioned?

[Walesa] If you take into account the conditions we created for her, the coalition character of the government, and the attitude of parliament, the demagogy and the enormity of the job, then Hanna Suchocka was the

best prime minister we have had. I do not have the slightest complaint to make about her, she has accomplished more than I imagined under the conditions she came to work under. We will see what happens in due course.

Under the concept that is taking shape today, what we need above all are experts. Political governments are needed less and less. I spoke about that when Minister Skubiszewski was a candidate for the International Court of Justice. He has accomplished great things for us, he was a great trump card in our hands when we were making our social debut (in the world), when the situation was different. What we need today everywhere, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs too, are economists to deal with economic matters and look for economic ties with the rest of the world. Thanks to that very great man, Skubiszewski, we have achieved great things politically and today we must concentrate solely on the economy, on what was written by....

[PAP] President Clinton above his desk: "the economy, stupid"....

[Walesa] Yes, that is precisely it, and it applies to all areas.

[PAP] A moment ago you said "we will see what happens in due course." Do you see some limit on that period of waiting?

[Walesa] I am three years behind schedule in implementing my program. I talked about the need for a general program then, about what we are privatizing and how, about how we must let the voivodships decide about these matters. I have not implemented the program, and that is not because I did not want to, but because everything I said has been disrupted by democracy. I know that my program will triumph, I know that we have to go back to it. The point is that in the present state of affairs I would be unable to act without an assault on the law and democracy. So, I am waiting until democracy understands that we have to return to it.

[PAP] Thank you for speaking to us, Mr. President.

Vacaroiu Urges Monitoring of Tiraspol Trial

AU2605200693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Today Romania's prime minister, Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu, sent separate humanitarian appeals to Mr. Andrei Sangheli, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, and Mr. Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, president of the government of the Russian Federation, asking them to intervene by all possible means at their disposal to ensure the observance of the law and of human rights in the Tiraspol trial.

The appeals express the concern caused by information received from the place of the trial according to which the six patriots are liable to receive serious or even capital punishment although they are mainly guilty of struggling for the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of their country.

The same day, Mr. Teodor Melescanu, state minister and minister of foreign affairs, made similar interventions with the UN secretary general, the acting presidents of the UN Security Council and UN General Assembly, the secretary general of the Council of Europe, the CSCE acting president, and the director of the CSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights headquartered in Warsaw.

He demanded that the letter sent to the UN secretary general be distributed as an official document of the United Nations, while the letter sent to Warsaw be distributed among the participants in the seminar on ethnic minorities, which is currently being held in the Polish capital.

Regarding the mock trial in Tiraspol, the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM] in a communique expresses concern and condemns the violent actions that are taking place in the eastern part of the Republic of Moldova, a sovereign and independent state and member of the United Nations, actions that are provoked by conservative, separatist, and imperial elements, who harbor anti-Romanian feelings aimed at dismembering the new sovereign state and attracting Romania to actions that are not desired by the Romanian people.

The communique asks the decisionmakers involved in these threatening actions to take urgent measures to stop this mock trial and to unconditionally release the detainees who have been arrested illegally only because of the fact that they are Romanian.

Such a measure is in the interest of positive relations between the Romanian people and the neighboring Slav peoples and is part and parcel of the norms of international law regulating relations between states and ensuring peace and stability in that part of Europe, the PSM communique emphasizes.

Iliescu Hopes To Finalize Treaty With Hungary

AU2605192693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1439 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/5/1993—"I hope that finally the two sides will find the common language and finalise this treaty which, juridically speaking, will lay the bases of relations of good neighbourliness, understanding and cooperation," President Ion Iliescu told a Hungarian Television reporter when asked about the chances of the two countries signing the basic treaty between Romania and Hungary.

"History," the Romanian president further said, "placed us here, side by side in this part of Europe, and it is important that our peoples, neither of them too large, but both boasting each own's rich history, should be capable to overcome the moment's difficulties and enter arm in arm, heads erect, in an integrated Europe."

Leaders Receive Macedonian Foreign Minister

AU2605094493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1715 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/5/1995—Deputy-Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Stevo Crvenkovski, who is on a short visit to Romania, had an interview Tuesday, May 25 with his Romanian counterpart Teodor Melescanu.

The Macedonian dignitary stated at the end of the interview that "we have had very friendly talks on the aspects of the development of bilateral relations, considering the traditionally good relations between the Romanian and Macedonian peoples. I have expressed our special appreciation of the support Romania granted us in being received in the United Nations organization as well as for its help in particularly difficult moments, as in the case of the earthquake in the town of Skoplje in 1983. We are in a region where economic cooperation and development are very important and, during this interview, we both agreed to improve bilateral relations."

Romanian President Ion Iliescu received Tuesday, May 25 at the Cotroceni Palace (seat of Romanian Presidency) Mr. Stevo Crvenkovski, deputy-prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, special envoy of that republic's president.

Presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu stated that the interview had been a completion of the dialogue between President Iliescu and the leaders of the former Yugoslav republics. The talks proper were a mutual updating on the prospects to settle the Yugoslav crisis and, concurrently, on the standpoints of the political leaders in Skoplje on that issue.

Also discussed was the progress of negotiations between Macedonia and Greece, with stress on the necessity for a normalization of the state relations between the two

countries, and President Iliescu stated Romania had no reservations about recognizing Macedonia. Then an examination was made of the development prospects in Romanian-Macedonian bilateral relations.

Spiroiu Discusses Defense Strategy Establishment

AU2605090793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0728 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/5/1993—"The most stringent issue for us today is the elaboration of a security and national defense strategy to include also the already elaborated military doctrine", considers Lieutenant-General Niculae Spiroiu, the Romanian minister of national defense, in an interview granted to the daily ADEVARUL. He also expresses his hope that the Romanian Parliament will vote this strategy by the autumn of 1993.

Mentioning that for the elaboration of such a document the experience of several Western armies has been studied, the minister said: "We have taken into consideration that especially at the central bodies level of the ministry we have to create those functions and departments corresponding to the mentioned armies. This would contribute to the creation of a proper interface in bilateral relations, but also as concerns an integration within European collective security structures. They would facilitate access of civilians at head of the Army, a first step being already made once with the nomination of Mircea Pascu, an independent politician, as secretary of state with the Ministry of Defense, well received by all Army structures and political forces".

Asked whether this process of civilian promotion within the ranks of the Army leadership would be furthered, as NATO European bodies insisted, Niculae Spiroiu answered: "Our foreign partners in discussion have understood that the tradition of our country implies a military at head of the Army. Then, it is not a matter of a simple option as regards the person, but an entire structure of the military body. Its modification above real and immediate needs would imply huge dislocations of military cadres with their resulting expenses and social problems".

Vacaroiu, Bankers Discuss Financial Blockage

AU2605192493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1753 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/5/1993—Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu together with other members of the Romanian Government met on Wednesday, May 26, with the governor of the National Bank and the presidents of the state-owned commercial banks.

They discussed over the disquieting re-emergence of financial blockage and over the main cause of this phenomenon, namely financial indiscipline of the state-owned companies and public corporations. The premier outlined the necessity that especially tough measures be taken in order to enforce a real financial discipline.

They also analysed various possibilities to get into use more efficient patterns of payment between companies and decided that the 40 companies with debts exceeding 100 million lei be subjected, beginning next Monday, to strict auditing by mixed teams comprised of representatives of the Finance Ministry, the bank the companies in question have accounts with, the National Bank and the relevant ministry.

The prime minister resolved that the results of the measures taken by the specified companies in order to ease the blockage be submitted to the Finance Ministry within three days from the completion of the auditing exercise.

Officials, Aid Donor Groups Hold Finance Talks

AU2705094493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0700 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/5/1993—A meeting was held on Wednesday, 26 May, in Bucharest of the group of donors for Romania (the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the European Bank for Investment, the Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary program, and the United States Agency for Development.) The Romanian Government was represented by State Ministers Misu Negritoiu and [Finance Minister] Florin Georgescu, as well as by experts in Romanian ministries and banks. Debated were the investment needs for the program of economic restructuring. After the meeting, Misu Negritoiu, the president of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, mentioned that talks with the big donors focused on technical assistance for the implementation of the policy of economic reform within an institutional framework estimated between $50-60 million. Referring to the investment needs of companies which are currently undergoing restructuring by modernization and updating, investments covered by funds and credits granted by the World Bank, Misu Negritoiu said: We have already discussed credits going up to $400-500 million. That is, funds and credits which are to be granted by the World Bank for development estimated at $200-300 million and by the European Bank of Investments going up to $120-150 million. Also, due to non-repayable assistance, funds for investments would be set up for stimulating investments in the country as well as the foreign investors.

PSDR's Cunescu Views Social-Democratic Movement

AU2605121593 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 22 May 93 p 3

[Report on statement by Sergiu Cunescu, leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR], in Bucharest on 21 May: "Ours Is the Sole Party in the Area of Social Democracy"]

[Text] After the news conference held yesterday at PSDR [Social-Democratic Party of Romania] headquarters, [PSDR President] Sergiu Cunescu made the following exclusive statement to our reporter: "There are several other political groups resorting to use of the term social-democrat in their names, but the PSDR knows their real identities and origins, and that is why it refuses to engage in any dialogue with them. There have been numerous attempts to develop an alliance with PSDR, but we refused to talk to them. In the political spectrum of the opposition, there might be groups that have no precise identity yet, but may in time display social-democratic convictions. In that case we will cooperate with them." Concerning the perils of the imminent departure of the PSDR from the political scene—that was the opinion of one of the journalists attending the news conference—Cunescu pointed out that the problem is a false one, considering that according to certain political analysts, the coming years will bring a major revival of the [social-democratic] party and its philosophy. The people are still under the negative influence of television which—by denigrating society's fundamental values and institutions—is frustrating ordinary people. The PSDR is currently searching for appropriate people throughout the country to strengthen its local organizations.

As for corruption, the PSDR leadership considers it necessary that an investigation should be conducted with respect to the persons who have been incriminated by General [Gheorghe] Florica [former head of the financial oversight authority] and condemn the attempts made to move Florica himself to the center of the scandal. If any of the government members is found guilty, the PSDR will support the motion to dismiss the whole cabinet.

Concerning the highly-disputed issue of [parliament] control over the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service], the PSDR considers that such control would enhance the credibility of Parliament at home and abroad. Not having access to the [SRI] files lessens the prestige of the deputies, because that puts those who are directly elected by the people in an inferior position in comparison with the employees of that institution.

Radio, TV Employees Begin Scheduled Strike

AU2705095093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0755 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/5/1993—The employees of the Romanian Radio-Television [national company] went on strike starting May 27, local time. They claimed, first of all, to have their salaries doubled, and their collective labor contract set in concord with the national one. The law says that, in case of strike, the National Radio and Television Company has to broadcast 30 percent of their normal program. The television will be on the air four and a half hours out of the normal 14. The local stations of Cluj, Constanta, Craiova, and Timisoara also went on strike. The employees of the radio and television station of Iasi did not join the strike.

Despite allegations made by the administration of the television, this is not merely the strike of one union organization, said Radu Grozea, leader of the television writers' union. "We have asked to have wages increased by 100 percent. Everybody must know that the average monthly wage of a television employee is 40,000 lei and not more, as rumors go."

The director general of the radio and television company, Paul Everac, was in France on May 27.

The board of administration of the radio and television company released a communique saying that "the legal conditions for staging a strike have not been met." Consequently, the board decided to sue the unions.

The administration said it was ready to continue negotiations with representatives of the employees, both on salary and on the other claims of the strikers.

The release mentions that the "technical" protocol concluded between the representatives of the board of administration and of the strike committee should not be taken as acknowledgement of the legal character of the strike, the employers considering themselves entitled to oppose the strike by legal means."

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 27 May

WA2705161993

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Krajina Serbs call off talks with Croatian Government ... Bosnian Serbs deny reports of attack on Maglaj ... Croats report Muslim attacks in Mostar ... Muslims, Croats reportedly block UN convoys ... Bosnian Army denies responsibility for incidents of forced mobilization in Sarajevo ... Macedonia to apply for admission into NATO.

POLITICAL

SERBS CALL OFF TALKS (TANJUG): Claiming that the Croatian Army is "regrouping and concentrating troops" on the border of Serbian-occupied region, Krajina Serbs announce it will not send delegation to cease-fire talks in Zagreb.

STATE OF EMERGENCY URGED IN KOSOVO (Belgrade Radio): Saying that ethnic Albanians are smuggling a "large amount of weapons" into Kosovo, Republic of Serbia deputy and paramilitary leader "Arkan" asks Serbian parliament to declare "state of emergency" in province. Arkan demands "larger number of police forces," deployment of Yugoslav Army along Albanian border, expulsion of ethnic Albanian leader Rugova. (AU2605150493)

MILITARY

SERBS DENY MAGLAJ ATTACK (TANJUG, London AL-HAYAH): Bosnian Serb forces deny reports of attack on Maglaj in northern Bosnia, say Muslims "bent on concealing" "growing violence" in area "between Muslims and Croats." Muslims continue to report Serbian offensive on town. Sarajevo Radio says town "eerily deserted" and "in ruins" after "unprecedented act of genocide." (LD2605164493, AU2605151493)

CROATS ACCUSE MUSLIMS OF ATTACKS (Zagreb Radio): Bosnian Croats say "fierce urban warfare" in Mostar "again in progress" after Muslim infantry attack on Croatian forces. Despite reported fighting, "partial exchange" of prisoners carried out. (LD2705085493, LD2605210993)

UN CONVOYS REPORTEDLY BLOCKED (Zagreb Radio, TANJUG): While Bosnian Croat forces report UNHCR humanitarian aid convoy bound for besieged Croatian villages near Konjic "hijacked" by Muslims, TANJUG cites UNHCR spokesman as saying Croats "blocked" convoy intended for Muslims in Mostar and "demanded half the relief aid." (LD2605144993, LD2605223993)

BOSNIAN ARMY CONDEMNS INCIDENTS (Sarajevo Radio): Blaming incidents of forced mobilizations of Sarajevo citizens into Bosnian Army on "arbitrary, excessive behavior by undisciplined individuals," Bosnian Army "distances itself from such actions" in public statement. (AU2605170693)

SPILLOVER

MACEDONIA TO ASK FOR NATO ADMISSION (TANJUG): Citing "increased interest" of U.S. and NATO in Macedonia, Defense Minister Popovski announces he will submit an "official request" for NATO membership in "two to three weeks." Popovski says "no reasons of principle" for denial of request, calls admission "possibility for NATO to reinforce its southern wing." (LD2605173593)

Aspects of Muslim, Croat Conflict

AU2605100493 Sarajevo JAVNOST in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 93 p 7

[Article by Dragoljub Jeknic: "NATO in Ambush"]

[Text] Despite the signed agreement, the promises of Tudjman and Izetbegovic to international organizations, despite forums and their warnings that sanctions will be imposed on the Republic of Croatia—just like in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's case—because of the involvement of its regular forces in the aggression on the "independent Bosnia-Herzegovina," the clashes between the Muslim and Croat armed forces are not diminishing. On the contrary, they are entering a phase when all ways and means are being employed in order to destroy everything that is Muslim and Croat respectively: human lives and material goods.

Muslim sources and media say that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is being attacked from all sides, and that the deadliest weapons are being used against it, while the Muslim civilian population is exposed to destruction of a kind it has never before undergone, not even in this war so far. It is stressed that the Croat side's goal is to ethnically cleanse all the cities and villages in province No. 8, which according to the Vance-Owen map is marked as the province with a Croat majority. They are attempting the same thing in province No. 10, which is a province with a mixed Croat and Muslim population.

The Croats are trying to squeeze the Muslim majority out of all the cities and villages in the Neretva River Valley, they are trying to take control over all the roadways, and that is why, in this respect, the heaviest battles are being waged in Mostar, Konjic, and Jablanica.

Real Inferno

The last fortnight has been a real inferno in these cities, particularly in Mostar. It is not enough just to say that Mostar is ablaze, that it is enveloped in flames. Mostar is almost no longer a city. It is mound of ruins and burned buildings of ghostly appearance, with numerous corpses on the streets, in doorways, parks. Those inhabitants of Mostar who did not manage to escape have been taken to camps. The largest camp is at the heliport, four kilometers from the center. More than 1,500 Muslims are currently imprisoned in it. There is a somewhat smaller camp on Buka. The Muslim Radio Sarajevo claims that in these camps the treatment of the Muslim civilian population is like the treatment in German concentration camps in the last war.

Several tens of thousands of shells of various caliber fell on the city districts controlled by the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Muslim sources claim that on 12 May alone, over three thousand shells fell. On that day, and in some earlier cases, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] forces compelled Muslim civilians, among whom were women, children, and the elderly, to act as a live shield in front of their infantry while it attacked the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army in front of the Retirement Home and the Ruza Hotel.

The Muslim people are exposed to total ruin. It is not only the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats and Mate Boban who are behind this, but also the Republic of Croatia, who carried out the aggression against the internationally recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition to the HVO forces in northern Bosnia and northern Herzegovina, five brigades of the Republic of Croatia's regular army are fighting in these areas. They are: one armored-mechanized brigade, 110th (Metkovic), 114th (Split), 104th (Varazdin), and the 113th (Sibenik) Brigade. This explicitly shows that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats, and Croats generally, are not satisfied with the "artificial entity," the "state within a state" of Herceg-Bosna, but that their goal is—one supported by the Republic of Croatia, which it has proved by involving troops from its territory—Greater Croatia.

Earlier Croats had also provoked conflicts and caused disagreements, but they have now finally taken the side of the aggressor and sworn enemy of the Muslim people and the independent state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Radio Sarajevo newscasts report.

The bloody conflicts that are flaring up and threatening to envelope all the villages in former Bosnia-Herzegovina inhabited by Croats and Muslims, were preceded by frequent blockades of so-called humanitarian aid convoys in northern Herzegovina. The Muslim side claims that more than 1,000 trucks loaded with medicine and food, or according to Croat admission arms and ammunition, are currently blocked in the port of Ploce. In Grude and Metkovic, numerous "humanitarian convoys" have also been blocked.

Americans as Croats

The Muslims are accusing the Croats of shelling hospitals, of systematically blowing up Muslim homes, of destroying the building of the Fourth Corps Command on 11 May, which left a lot of dead and wounded. The Croatian units have burned to the ground many villages like Igbar and Orahovice in the Neretvica River valley, or the villages of Paroz, Papcani, Klepca, and Lizoperci in the Prozor municipality.

The Muslim Radio Sarajevo reported that on 16 May in the village of Svinjarevo, situated six kilometers from Kiseljak, a mass grave containing over 1,000 victims was discovered. This was done by the HVO. UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] went to investigate, but they were fired at and stopped by the Croatian military formations. This is certainly frightening news, confirming the fact that massacres are being committed that will astonish the world once all this is investigated and checked.

The Croat armed forces do not spare anyone. They also harass journalists. The Czech journalist Philip Tesar disappeared near Vitez. On 4 May in the vicinity of Novi Travnik, the HVO harassed the crew of NEW TIMES,

robbed them, and forced them to return to Gornji Vakuf on foot. The families of Muslim journalists H. Sehovic and E. Kaste from Mostar were taken to concentration camps.

A contingent of American soldiers has arrived in Herzegovina. They are clad in Croat uniforms and are intermixed with Croat soldiers. This is kept very secret. This contingent precedes the invasion forces, which will also fight the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army as soon as the military intervention starts. This military intervention is not aimed only against the Serbs and the Serbian armed forces, as is publicly claimed, but also against the Muslims and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

The invading forces and the military intervention is aimed at helping Franjo Tudjman realize the project of the so-called Greater Croatia, and of annexing not only provinces No. 8 and 3, but also province No. 10, and a good part of the southern and southwestern regions of province No. 9 with the cities Zenica, Zepce, Vares, Kakanj, and Visoko to Greater Croatia. The Muslim media stress that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Muslim people will oppose this with all means.

What is interesting however, is Alija Izetbegovic's latest address to his countrymen via the Sarajevo Muslim media. He calls everything that is happening between the Muslim and Croats, this war for life or death, the abundance of crimes, a "planted fire" and calls upon the other, Croat side to participate in civilized talk and debate!

On the other hand, one of the commanders of the Muslim army announced over Radio Konjic that the Muslims are exposed to extermination by the HVO forces and "Tudjman's fascists." The commander said that now, we are not fighting for the survival of some imaginary state, but for the survival of our people.

Hidden Crimes

The Croat media and the units' information centers are blaming the Muslims and the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army for everything. Ever more frequent are statements that the Muslim leaders are sacrificing their people for a fundamentalist state that does not exist. All the systems of the at one time strong coalition have fallen to pieces. The joint Croat and Muslim representatives in the bodies of authority are not functioning together in a single segment. Croat sources say that the Muslim armed forces carried out the aggression against the HVO units. The Croatian people are exposed to destruction in the entire area of central Bosnia and northern Herzegovina. Particularly in Mostar. There, the Muslims have blocked the roads leading to the hospitals. There are a lot of dead and wounded. Almost all of the wounded were wounded by dum-dum bullets.

All Croat villages south of Konjic are blocked and are facing destruction. The Muslims have interned more than 1,500 civilians, Croat nationals, in camps in Celebici, Tarcin, and in a recreation hall in Konjic. Over 3,500 Croats are imprisoned in the villages of Ovcarevo and Turija. Many have been savagely murdered. Women are being raped. Civilian Croat population is used as a live shield. Several hundred Croats have been liquidated in Zenica. Many Croat villages around Zenica have been burned down, among them the following: Lokvice, Cajdas, Bjelivode. Zenica is a fundamentalist center. In Gornji Vakuf the Muslims are capturing Croats for exchanges. Vinko Tomas, a vicar, was kidnapped there.

According to Croat media, the Muslims want to cleanse central Bosnia, the upper course of the Vrbas River, and the Bosna River Valley of Croats. Their assignment is to establish themselves in these areas, which is why they are undertaking fierce offensives. They destroy everything found in their path. They spare no one, not even pregnant women. They rape. They torch. There is no end to their cruelty. They exhibited this cruelty toward HVO colonel, Adem Zulovic. Because he is considered a traitor, they killed his thirteen-year-old son, and seriously injured his daughter. In the village of Jelina, in the vicinity of Buslovaca, a pregnant woman's child was removed from her stomach with a knife, while her husband watched.

The Croat media are particularly pointing out the atrocities committed by mojahedin who, just like the arms for the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, arrived via Croat territory and with the Croats' help. They have now turned their weapons and the full force of their hatred on the Croats. Tesanj is their city. It has lost its earlier picturesque quality, and now resembles a kind of Arab abode. The mojahedin do as they please there—they rape, rob, torch, and kill.

The Blind World

Despite everything, the world insists on occupying itself with the Serbs and the Vance-Owen peace plan. The blindness of the contemporary international power-wielders is absolutely astonishing. Or their intention not to see what is visible from Mars. They are silent in this war between the Croats and the Muslims. The Austrian and German press is particularly stubborn in its silence. They are still planning the stationing of monitors on unnatural Serbian borders, although it is clear that no one can put the former Bosnia-Herzegovina together again. There is no force on earth that can reunite, and make this unfortunate, former socialist republic a whole and independent state once more. The Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina have been pointing this out from the very beginning, but the so-called international factors are playing some kind of funny game and are insisting on the maps that cost hundreds of human lives every day.

For their part, the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are making some significant moves. On the one hand, they are guarding their territories, establishing their state, while the brokered agreements are generally holding—both the one brokered with the Muslims and with the Croat side. Sadly, every so often a new mass

grave containing massacred Serbian civilian population is discovered. Once again, funerals are being held around Srebrenica.

'Fierce Urban Warfare' Renewed in Mostar

LD2705085493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 27 May 93

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Text] Following several days of relative lull in Mostar, fierce urban warfare is again in progress in this town on the Neretva River. Thick columns of smoke are rising above the town.

Shortly before 0400 this morning Muslim forces attempted an infantry breakthrough in former Santic Street using mortars, hand-held rocket launchers, and Zolja missiles. The Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] Tihomir Misic barracks was attacked yet again around 0600 this morning. The barracks is on the left bank of the River Neretva, most of which is controlled by Muslim forces.

As reported from the command of the southeastern Herzegovina operational zone, HVO units have successfully repelled both attacks. However, shortly before 0900, the fighting flared up in Mostar's Bulevar district. One building is on fire and shooting is still going on.

Other parts of the town are still quiet.

Croats Block, Raid Convoy Intended for Mostar Muslims

LD2605223993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2213 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 26 (TANJUG)—Forces of Bosnian Croats Wednesday blocked a U.N. humanitarian convoy intended for Moslems in Mostar, southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, and demanded half the relief aid.

The Croats, REUTER reported, citing U.N. representatives in Zagreb, delayed the convoy for full seven hours, demanding one-half of the total of 80 tonnes of foodstuffs.

When an accord was reached in the end between the U.N. representatives and the Croatian forces, it was too late for the convoy to start off. The trucks returned to Metkovic, a town south of Mostar, from where they are to start again Thursday. Half the aid is to be delivered to the areas under Croatian occupation. This was the price for the passage of the convoy to the Moslem destinations.

Informing newsmen about the incident, Peter Kessler, the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] representative in Zagreb, said that it would seem there was a unprecedented straining in relations between the U.N. and the Bosnian Croats.

Moslem forces, too, abducted Wednesday a convoy with humanitarian aid of the International Red Cross Organization and the UNHCR intended for the population in the besieged Croatian villages around Konjic, northern Herzegovina, Croatia's Zagreb Radio reported.

The same source sited tension was on the rise again in central Bosnia between the Moslems and Croats, following the armed attack of Moslem forces on the Croatian positions around Vitez.

Invoking a report of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] from Vitez, the Croatian Radio claimed that a unit of some one hundred Moslem troops attacked and pushed back Tuesday the Croatian units from a part of the Vitez-Kiseljak road in the area of Krasina, some 40 kilometers southeast of Vitez.

Armed clashes in this area, according to the radio, continued also into the night of Tuesday-Wednesday.

Clashes between the Moslems and Croats in northern Herzegovina region and central Bosnia, which began more than three months ago, escalated in the past four weeks.

Over the past one and a half month alone, the fighting between the Moslems and Croats in the Neretva River valley resulted in more than one thousand killed and missing troops and civilians. Both sides were carrying out "ethnic cleansing" in the territories they controlled, so that thousands of civilians were held in camps.

Muslim Forces in Konjic Hijack UN Convoy

LD2605144993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Mostar for Croatian radio]

[Text] According to reports from the general staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], members of Muslim forces in Konjic hijacked a convoy belonging to the International Red Cross and the UN High Commission for Refugees that was taking humanitarian aid to the residents of the besieged Croat villages of Turija, Zaslivlje, and Zabrdje. It should be noted that these Croat villages have been encircled by Muslim forces for more than 40 days, and that they are surviving on their last supplies of food.

Members of the Croat-Muslim commission whose task was to implement the Petkovic-Halilovic Medjugorje agreement in Mostar are still discussing the lists of civilians who should be allowed to cross from the [Muslim held] left to the [Croat held] right and the right to the left bank of the river Neretva, the lists of imprisoned civilians who should be released, and the lists of captured soldiers who should be released according to the all-for-all principle. The implementation of this agreement was to begin at 1500 [1300 GMT]. One of the

reasons for the delay is the fact that the Muslim side was late for the talks this morning.

An extraordinary session of the HVO of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna was held today. Activities related to the implementation of the Medjugorje agreement and the current military and security situation in the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna were discussed at the session.

The chairman of the executive committee of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Srecko Vucina, informed the HVO about the decisions of the presidium of the HDZ for Bosnia-Herzegovina in connection with the appointment of the governors to provinces eight and 10, and vice governors to province nine. HVO members expressed their support for the activities carried out so far in the scope of the implementation of the Medjugorje agreement.

The HVO's task in the upcoming period has been defined today as well. All bodies of the HVO of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna should function continuingly, and special stress was put on the need for the effective functioning of the defense and internal affairs system, as well as the tax and duty and overall financial system.

This is stressed in a statement from today's extraordinary session of the HVO of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.

Muslims, Croats Begin Releasing Mostar POW's

LD2605210993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 26 May 93

[Excerpt] A partial exchange of civilians and soldiers was after all carried out in Mostar around 2000 this evening. More specifically, civilians were allowed to cross from the left bank of the Neretva River to the right bank and vice versa and captured soldiers of the Croat Defence Council [HVO] and the Muslim army were exchanged.

Members of the Muslim forces released 33 HVO members, including two lightly and one seriously soldier, and several were beaten up. According to released HVO soldiers, they were held in two places. Those kept in the building of the former Social Accountancy Service hardly had any conditions for life, but at least they were not beaten, while those who were in [word indistinct] were beaten constantly.

HVO members released 57 captured soldiers of the Muslim army. After soldiers were exchanged, three coaches and several private cars with civilians crossed from the left to the right bank and vice versa. [passage omitted]

Sarajevo's Serb Suburbs Attacked by Muslims

LD2705023993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2242 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 26 (TANJUG)—Six Serb civilians were wounded on Wednesday when tens of shells fired from Moslem positions landed on Serb surburbs in the south-western part of the Sarajevo battlefront, said the Bosnian Serb Army Command in Lukavica.

Moslem forces opened artillery fire on the Serb suburbs of Vojkovici, Grlic and Krupac from their positions on Mt. Igman and Kovaci near Hrasnica, reported the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA.

The attack stopped in the afternoon after the Bosnian Serb Army strongly returned fire, said SRNA.

Moslem forces on Wednesday also attacked the Bosnian Serb defence lines in Hadzici south-west of Sarajevo and the Serb suburbs of Ilidza, Nedzarici and Pejton.

Moslem forces in Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, on Wednesday evening opened fire on Serb army positions in the area of Jadro, SRNA quoted a statement by the command of the Bosnian Serb Army Drina Corps.

The later supply system for the Srebrenica area was damaged in the shelling, said commander of the corps Milan Zivkovic.

After the attack, the Drina Corps command lodged a strong protest to the command of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Three hundred and fifty Macedonians are expected to leave the Moslem-controlled part of Sarajevo for the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on Thursday morning, said the command.

The departure of the group was agreed between the Macedonian Government and the Moslem authorities in Sarajevo.

The Government of the Serb Republic approved the passage of a convoy with Macedonian citizens through its territory, said SRNA.

Attacks Described

LD2605112293 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 May 93

[Excerpts] Hadzici has been under artillery and infantry attack since early this morning. The enemy, attacking from Mount Igman and Pazaric, is using 82-mm and 102-mm mortars to target the center of Hadzici. Muslims are also launching infantry attacks from Igman hills of Obeljak, Sipnik, and Golo Brdo. Our soldiers have been forced to respond fiercely so that, according to Serb military sources, the frontline has not changed. [passage omitted]

There have been infantry skirmishes and intensive sniper activity from enemy strongholds this morning at the central Sarajevo battlefield. The enemy is particularly targeting the districts of Abramovici, Dobrinja IV, Kula, Krtelji, and Nedzarici. [passage omitted]

Residential Buildings Targeted

LD2605163093 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 93

[Report by correspondents Nedeljko Zelenovic and Lilja Ikonic from the Sarajevo combat zone]

[Excerpt] [Zelenovic] While filing this report, the enemy artillery and infantry attack from the direction of Mount Igman and Pazaric on Hadzici is continuing unabated. The attack began this morning with strong mortar fire directed exclusively, as usual, at economic facilities and residential buildings in this Serb municipality. Dozens of missiles have inflicted heavy material damage, while one woman lost her life and seven other civilians were lightly or seriously wounded. Despite futile infantry assaults in which the Islamic warriors are suffering heavy losses, the situation is not calming down. That the Muslim aggressor is resorting to all cowardly and impermissible means in his insane terrorist actions is corroborated by the fact that Serb prisoners from the notorious detention camp in Krupa near Pazarici were used as living shields. Eight prisoners managed to escape by fleeing towards Serb-held positions. The jihad warriors shot unarmed people in the back, killing two, while the eight who managed to escape where lightly wounded.

The enemy is not sitting around idle on the Ilidza section of the front today either. The enemy attack with antitank missiles and 60-mm mortars, which began a little after 1200, is still under way. The situation is similar in the districts of Nedzarici and Pejton. In their assaults on the district of Doglodi, the Islamic warriors are using toxic gases, primarily tear gas. Several civilians were seriously and lightly wounded. [passage omitted]

Muslim Forces Attack Serb Villages Near Maglaj

LD2605123593 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] [Announcer] Milka Prijevic reports from the Doboj area.

[Prijevic] Serb soldiers routed an enemy [Muslim] sabotage group that tried to infiltrate into the Makljenovac area [south of Doboj] last night. At the same time the enemy targeted the villages of Pridjel and Sevarlije; infantry provocations were registered in Bandera and Kriz.

The Serb villages of Bocinja, Krsno Polje, and Pavnica at the Maglaj battlefield have been targeted by Muslim forces again. Muslims launched 82-mm mortar attacks on these villages but no casualties have been reported. Infantry provocations have been registered at other parts of the defense line in this area, particularly from the direction of Plane.

At the Teslic battlefield Muslim units attempted a combined artillery-infantry attack in Lijepo Brdo and Sijakovac areas. Serb soldiers responded energetically and repelled the enemy to its initial positions. At the same time the enemy fired several mortar shells on the town of Teslic. The shells did not cause any serious damage.

Maglaj 'Deserted, in Ruins'; Serb Attacks Continue

AU2605151493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 93

[Hajrudin Sermic report from Maglaj]

[Text] The physical and mental killing of the Maglaj people is continuing. Since this morning, heavy caliber howitzer shells have been pounding the town from all directions. Six people, two of them children, have been horribly mutilated. The sad figure of civilians killed during the last 15 days has almost reached 100. The unprecedented act of genocide committed by Mladic's artillery from Mount Ozren is in its 11th day. At 1200 [1000 GMT] a frightening silence fell, giving the Chetniks time to cool their guns for new destructive attacks. As we could have predicted, just before 1400 this afternoon the fierce bombardment continued.

Maglaj is eerily deserted and all in ruins. This town needs help immediately. How many more of us have to be killed before someone finally says: Enough! We call on the UN Security Council to urgently stop the killing of the innocent people.

Bosnian Serb Army Denies Maglaj Offensive

LD2605164493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1508 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 26 (TANJUG)—The command of the Bosnian Serb republic army said in a statement released on Wednesday that the Moslems had for several days been involved in an all-out offensive aimed at taking control of the Maglaj-Tuzla road, and that the Moslem-controlled radio was bent on concealing the Moslems' conflict with the Bosnian Croats in the area and attributing the destruction of Maglaj to the Serbs.

Stressing that there was growing violence in the Maglaj area between the Moslems and the Croats, the command said that the Croats were shelling Moslem positions in and around the town, and that the Moslem media were out to conceal that conflict at all costs.

The command said that during what was the hitherto most serious breach of the ceasefire concluded by the Serbs and the Moslems, the latter had taken the Serb village of Krsno Polje on the Maglaj-Zavidovici Road and burned down many houses in it.

Denying claims by the Moslem radio that a Serb offensive was under way in the Maglaj region, the Bosnian Serb republic army command asked the republican president to invite U.N. observers to establish exactly what was happening in that area.

Serbian Authorities Financing Brcko Snipers

AU2705100693

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 27 May carries in its regular 12-minute newscast the following reports on the continued fighting in the republic.

Reporting from the Maglaj Press Center, Hajrudin Sermic reports that "despite the presence of UN observers, there is no peace in sight in this city. Overnight the Ozren Chetniks continued to destroy the city and its suburbs, Gornji and Donji Bradici, with tankfire. There are heavy civilian casualties. Yesterday 11 people were seriously injured and one killed. The first aid unit has informed us that the situation with medical equipment and medicine is more than critical, that they are performing surgery without proper surgical instruments. They ask for concrete help. The members of the Maglaj Municipal War Presidency yesterday talked to UN and EC observers about the consequences of the genocide that Karadzic's butchers are committing on the inhabitants of Maglaj. They asked for concrete aid in the form of food, medicine, and protection of the population from further suffering. Food supplies are exhausted, while the population is exhausted from living in shelters for such a long time." He adds that "the Chetniks have been attacking the demarcation lines with tanks, antiaircraft weapons, and mortars of all calibers, but our heroes, the defenders of the city, are firmly holding on to their captured positions."

Reporting from the free territory of Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic reports that "the defense lines of the free territory of Brcko were once again shelled last night. After spending most of yesterday engaged in provocative actions, in the early evening the Serbo-Chetnik aggressor intensified the offensive on the Brcko front. At 1630 [1430 GMT] the Chetniks used 60-mm mortars to pound Bajici, while simultaneously 82-mm mortar bombs started landing on Licki Most, Rijeke, and Omerbegovaca." He says "during the night, the enemy artillery bombardments intensified. At about 2000, the region of Bukovac was attacked with 60-mm mortars. From 2100 on, the [words indistinct] antiaircraft gun began pounding the Lipovac area, while Rijeke was pounded with 60-mm and 80-mm mortars, with the continuous support of Praga. All of this was accompanied by fierce small arms and sniper fire, while the aggressor's snipers whose activity can never be termed as mere provocation have launched into another morning of combat on the Brcko front. Several dozen Chetnik snipers are active along the entire front line." According to the information service "most of the snipers from the ranks of the Serbo-Chetnik armada on the Brcko front are from Serbia itself. They were granted paid leave from their jobs in Indjia, Ruma, Leskovac, Bor, and Stara Pazova by the Serbian authorities, who paid them a large fee and sent them, along with the rest of the rabble and layabouts from (name indistinct), Belgrade, and other Serbian cities, to hunt down Croat and Muslim heads on the most sensitive part of the Chetnik-Bosnian corridor. The only effect achieved by the Serbian mercenaries on the Brcko front in the last 24 hours is to heighten caution on the part of the men of the 108th Brcko Brigade and the joint units of the Second Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army."

Reporting from Olovo, Velid Djindo says that "yesterday, the aggressor continued his artillery attacks on civilian targets in Olovo and our Army's positions. On four occasions, 82-mm mortars, tanks, and guns pounded the outskirts of Olovo. Every night so far, including last night, has been marked by the enemy's use of machine guns and guns against the defense lines. Early this morning, several mortar bombs landed on the [word indistinct] Krusevo. As in recent days, civilians were again the casualties yesterday, so it is necessary to restrict movement along the open roads so as to avoid any further tragic consequences of the never-ending orgy of the Chetnik artillery on the free territory of the Olovo municipality."

Jadranka Milosevic reports from Hadzici that "yesterday the battles on the Hadzici battlefield died down in the evening. In yet another unsuccessful attempt at an infantry breakthrough, this time on Mt. Stupnik, the Chetniks exhibited their utter military impotence. After yesterday's fighting on Mt. Stupnik, 12 Chetnik corpses littered the area. Fighters of the Ninth Hill Brigade successfully repelled this attack, but they suffered some losses. One soldier was killed, while three were slightly injured." According to the Ninth Hill Brigade Information Service "yesterday's fighting on Mt. Stupnik resulted in plenty of war trophies, namely two M-84 machine guns with two cases of ammunition and a large amount of other infantry weapon and ammunition."

Unidentified reporter says that "the Operative Group Bosna's zone of responsibility has been marked by constant Chetnik small arms provocations on all the fronts. In the evening hours, the aggressor used mortars to shell the Rujnica front. From their strongholds, the Chetniks are using antiaircraft machine guns and machine guns to fire at the defense lines and civilian targets. This was more intense during the night. After 2000 the Chetniks fired several 82-mm mortar bombs at the defense lines in Rujnica. The other lines were quiet both during the day and at night."

The studio-announcer says that "the morning is relatively calm in Sarajevo. An exception is the outskirts of the Stari Grad area, where the sower of death and snipers are active."

Muslims Continue To Attack Hadzici

LD2605163093 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 93

[Report by correspondents Nedeljko Zelenovic and Lilja Ikonic from the Sarajevo combat zone]

[Excerpt] [Zelenovic] While filing this report, the enemy artillery and infantry attack from the direction of Mount Igman and Pazaric on Hadzici is continuing unabated. The attack began this morning with strong mortar fire directed exclusively, as usual, at economic facilities and residential buildings in this Serb municipality. Dozens of missiles have inflicted heavy material damage, while one woman lost her life and seven other civilians were lightly or seriously wounded. Despite futile infantry assaults in which the Islamic warriors are suffering heavy losses, the situation is not calming down. That the Muslim aggressor is resorting to all cowardly and impermissible means in his insane terrorist actions is corroborated by the fact that Serb prisoners from the notorious detention camp in Krupa near Pazarici were used as living shields. Eight prisoners managed to escape by fleeing towards Serb-held positions. The jihad warriors shot unarmed people in the back, killing two, while the eight who managed to escape where lightly wounded.

The enemy is not sitting around idle on the Ilidza section of the front today either. The enemy attack with antitank missiles and 60-mm mortars, which began a little after 1200, is still under way. The situation is similar in the districts of Nedzarici and Pejton. In their assaults on the district of Doglodi, the Islamic warriors are using toxic gases, primarily tear gas. Several civilians were seriously and lightly wounded. [passage omitted]

Muslim, Croatian Children Used as 'Live Shield'

AU2605115893

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 26 May carries in its regular 17-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

The Second Corps Seven-South Operative Group Information Center reports from the Tesanj area that "on the Novi Seher front, the aggressor used Muslim and Croatian women, children, and the old as a live shield. The bestiality and barbarism of the cutthroats from the hills has also been turned against the free territories of Tesanj and Teslic. Yesterday the Chetniks launched the fiercest infantry attack yet on Kalosevici, (?Sijakovac), and Lijepo Brdo, Planje, and Mrkotic. After the attack was repelled, the Chetniks retaliated by shelling civilian targets in Kalosevic, Miljanovci, Planje and Mrkotic with howitzers, tanks, and mortars from Stanovi, Teslic, and Putnikovo Brdo. The citizens of Tesanj spent another day in the shelters, and the destruction went on well into the night." The report says that "in the zone of responsibility of the 110th Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council Brigade Usora, a movement of tanks was spotted on the Putnikovo Brdo-Stanovi- (?Vitkovci) route."

Reporting from Gorazde, Fahrudin Bekic says that "occasional artillery and small arms provocations are disrupting quiet a long calm. The exception is the zone of responsibility of the First Rogatica Brigade where, since 1630 [1430 GMT] yesterday, the Chetniks are still attacking intensively. They are using tanks, antiaircraft guns, hill guns, and mortars. Several hundred shells have so far landed on the defensive positions and civilian targets. After a heavy artillery attack, the Chetniks of Radomir (?Burtula), formerly an officer in the former Yugoslav People's Army, attempted an infantry breakthrough but were successfully repelled. The attacks on the positions of the First Rogatica Brigade are still in progress as we report."

In his report from Tuzla, Enes Osmancevic says that "the Chetniks are occasionally using small arms to fire on the defenders of Tuzla and Kalesija. It is somewhat quieter in the Lukavac commune today. Zivinice and Banovici are quiet."

The Bihac Press Center reports that "last night the Chetniks kept up small arms fire along the entire front. They occasionally used mortars and guns against the positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Fifth Corps and the Croatian Defense Council. The provocations intensified just after 2000 last night, but these drew no response."

Army Distances Itself From 'Unlawful' Mobilization

AU2605170693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] In view of the recently increasingly frequent cases of citizens and military servicemen being unlawful mobilized on the streets of Sarajevo, the command of the First Corps issued the following explanation:

Deeply aware of the negative consequences of such behavior, which undermines the reputation of the First Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army among the citizens, the command of the First Corps distances itself from such actions. This, exclusively, represents arbitrary excessive behavior by undisciplined individuals. The command of the First Corps has, even before, stressed its determination to always, and also in the case of mobilization, act in compliance with the law. In view of this determination, the command issued (?all units of the First Corps) with an order to release all unlawfully mobilized citizens and military servicemen by 0800 [0600 GMT] on 27 May. Adequate measures will be taken against the perpetrators of these unlawful actions, is written in the statement by the command of the First Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Buses Traveling to Sarajevo To Evacuate Macedonians

LD2605141593 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 May 93

[Report by correspondent Milenko Lazarevic from "the Zvornik combat zone"]

[Text] It was not completely calm on the Zvornik front last night—Muslim formations were provoking the defenders of the Serb village of Boskovici with small arms fire in the northern section of the Zvornik front, from the direction of Nezuk. Since no consequences were registered, the Serb fighters did not respond to the fire opened by the enemy side. Arms are silent all along the Zvornik front in these morning hours.

A convoy comprising seven buses from Macedonia this morning passed the border checkpoint at Karakaja, on the border with Yugoslavia, and crossed into the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], from where it continued its journey toward Sarajevo.

The convoy, as we have learned, is supposed to evacuate Macedonian citizens from the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Canadian UNPROFOR Battalion Under Muslim Fire

LD2705100693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Bratunac, 27 May (TANJUG)—Members of Muslim armed formations from the Srebrenica region last night opened fire on soldiers of a Canadian battalion belonging to the UN peacekeeping forces (UNPROFOR) stationed in this area, TANJUG's correspondent was told at the General Headquarters of the Serb republic's army [VRS].

According to the same source, the attack on members of the "Blue Berets" took place in Zeleni Jadar, some 5 km south of Srebrenica, and was carried out with infantry weapons, although loud blasts could also be heard. As UNPROFOR representatives have still not released any statements, the General Headquarters could not disclose any details on last night's incident.

A Canadian armored personnel carrier was damaged by an antitank mine in a Muslim-populated village in the Srebrenica area a little over a month ago, luckily without casualties.

Serbs Cancel Talks With Croat Government

LD2605165693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Slavko Degoricija, head of the Croatian state delegation of the Republic of Croatia for negotiations with local Serbs from Knin, said at a news conference today that the Serb side had one-sidedly and for no reason cancelled today's meeting in Zagreb. Kreso Zadravec reports.

[Zadravec] It was only this morning, Slavko Degoricija said at a news conference, that we received official notification from the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] that representatives of the local Serbs from Knin will not attend the talks in Zagreb because of an unproved claim, Degoricija stresses, that the Croatian Army killed 12 Serbs somewhere in the northern UN protected area between 16 May and yesterday.

The Serbs from Knin also condition the continuation of talks on the withdrawal of the Croatian Army to the line of separation of 3 January 1993, on holding talks in neutral territory, and on the formation of an expert group which would prepare topics for the dicussion of political issues.

The Croatian side is ready to continue negotiating, not under such circumstances, but on the basis of the agreement of 18 May in Topusko, Degoricija stressed and recalled that an agreement in principle had been reached in Topusko on the cessation of all hostilities and the continuation of talks on economic issues in Zagreb.

Because of all this, Croatia will via the Russian Embassy send protests to Vitaliy Churkin at whose initiative the talks have been launched, and to UNPROFOR's representative for civilian affairs, Mr. Thornberry, who is expected to launch fresh initiatives for the continuation of talks, Slavko Degoricija, head of the Croatian state delegation for talks with the local Serbs from Knin, said among other things at the news conference today.

Demonstration of Force Threatens RSK Peace Process

LD2605213793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2052 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Knin, May 26 (TANJUG)—Croatia's demonstration of force along its border with the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) threatens the negotiating process between the two sides, the RSK Army headquarters said in a statement released on Wednesday.

The Croatian Army is re-grouping and concentrating troops along the border with the RSK, says the statement and points out that the Croatian Army has sent more tanks and artillery pieces to the region of Biograd in the past few days.

The RSK and Croatia are currently negotiating a cease-fire through the mediation of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

As a result of Croatia's continuing attacks, the RSK Government has decided not to send its delegation to talks in Zagreb.

The statement also points at the activities of Croatian terrorist groups in the RSK territory which have caused in a number of casulties.

Such attitude of the Croatian side shows its hypocracy and proves that our suspicion and scepticism over its readiness to work for a peaceful settlement of the conflict are grounded, says the statement.

On January 22, Croatia launched an attack on the RSK in an attempt to impose its authority in that territory.

The RSK was proclaimed in 1991 in Serb-populated areas within the administrative borders of Croatia after its forcible secession from the former Yugoslav Federation.

Croatian attacks on the RSK, whose territory was placed under the protection of the United Nations in March last year, continued in spite of a U.N. resolution demanding the withdrawal of Croatian troops to their earlier positions.

Tudjman Says Washington Plan Not 'Effective'

LD2505014993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2344 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Zagreb, May 24 (TANJUG)—The action plan of five leading members of the U.N. Security Council on Bosnia-Herzegovina "cannot be deemed an effective enough model for ending war and establishing just peace," as set out by the office of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman Monday.

The statement said the stands of the U.S., Great Britain, France, Russia and Spain adopted Saturday at a meeting of foreign ministers of these countries in Washington, "confirmed the correctness of the Croatian assessment that neither Europe nor the U.S., nor the U.N. and the E.C. for that matter, had no joint view concerning ways to resolve the intricate Bosnia-Herzegovina problem."

Warning to Croatia that sanctions could be imposed on it because it aided the Bosnian Croats, the statement said, "clearly served as a pretext for eliminating responsibility for failure of the international community and shifting the guilt onto those who in no way contributed to the present situation."

There were more than 50,000 Croatia's regular army troops, fighting on the side of the Bosnian Croats against the Bosnian Serbs, and, of late, against the Bosnian Moslems, their nominal allies.

UNPROFOR's Stoltenberg Visits Serb Krajina

LD2705125593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Knin, 27 May (TANJUG)—Thorwald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, today talked to members of the state committee of the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina for relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in the presence of General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, UNPROFOR commander for the former Yugoslavia, and Cedric Thornberry, his deputy for civilian affairs.

Following their talks behind closed doors, Stoltenberg told TANJUG's correspondent from Knin:

"Since this is my first visit to Knin and my new task, I am here to listen and learn rather than negotiate."

"The talks were extremely beneficial, since I gained a very detailed insight into the situation. All this is of exceptional significance for my future work."

Asked whether UNPROFOR's mandate will be extended, Stoltenberg said: "There is no doubt that the situation here and the overall denouement of the political situation will largely depend on my report to the UN secretary general, which will be passed on to the UN Security Council. In any case, this is the largest UN mission, so the UN Security Council will make a decision in keeping with its potentials for further progress in this work."

Following today's talks with Stoltenberg, Djordje Bjegovic, president of the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina, stressed in a brief statement that "an operational turning point has been reached on an equitable basis, something that is the sole precondition for further talks."

The securing of equal treatment and status during talks, as well as caution, is, in Bjegovic's view, the only path to peace, "since our present situation is extremely critical."

Asked about his interpretation of Croatian officials' statements about Croatia's willingness to continue talks with Krajina despite the failure of its delegation to show up in Zagreb on 26 May, Bjegovic replied: "In any case, there is no solution without negotiations. No one has reached any solution through war. We will be glad if Croatia sincerely wants talks, because what we have experienced over the past two years makes us wary. They should demonstrate their sincere intentions not only by words but also by their deeds."

Wahlgren in Talks With Krajina Serb Commander

LD2605130493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 26 May 93

[Excerpts] Knin, 26 May (TANJUG)—General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, commander of the peace forces in former Yugoslavia, held talks in Knin today with Brigadier-General Mile Novakovic, commander of the Krajina Serb army. They discussed the ways and means of supervising the cease-fire between Croatian and Serb forces.

We are talking about a permanent cease-fire, Gen. Wahlgren told journalists. An agreement on this must contain all elements and mechanisms of supervising the cease-fire. It seems, however, that this is a temporary cease-fire, a step toward a permanent cease-fire because the Croatian forces are expected to withdraw only after an agreement on implementation of Security Council resolution 802 is reached.

If the warring sides accept this agreement, we will start separating them. In that case, the peace forces are planning to deploy between the warring sides, Wahlgren stressed. [passage omitted]

Describing the talks today, Gen. Novakovic, commander of the Krajina Serb army, said that any cease-fire can only lead one step closer toward ultimate peace. He reiterated Krajina's stands that "the other side must withdraw behind the lines which it crossed on 3 January 1993; this must be accompanied by effective control of the separation lines by UNPROFOR."

Gen. Wahlgren, commander of the peace forces, was told during the talks that "no talks on a cease-fire can be held while the Croatian Army is active and trying to infiltrate sabotage-terrorist groups, which are killing civilians," Novakovic stressed.

According to available information, he added, the other side "is preparing to inflitrate into our territory larger forces than so far."

Composition, Goals of Serb-Croat Relations Council

93BA1029D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Apr 93 p 9

[Article by Gordana Gojak: "Appointment of State Board for Normalization of Croat-Serb Relations: Attempt To Peacefully Return Krajina to Croatia"]

[Text] *It appears that everyone in Croatia who could contribute to normalizing Croat-Serb relations will be on a special State Board chaired by Josip Manolic, with Slavko Degoricija, Josip Boljkovac, and Jovan Bamburac as vice chairmen. Specifically, upon the appointment of the State Board for Normalization of Croat-Serb Relations (16 April) by Tudjman's Council of Defense and National Security, which acts as an advisory body to the president of the Republic of Croatia, it was recommended that other persons wishing to contribute to this normalization be added to the Board later on.*

For now, the appointed members are as follows: Vladimir Seks, Ivan Milas, Ivan Aralica, Drago Krpina, Pero Vidakovic, Zvonimir Markovic, Tomislav Sutalo,

Mato Kovacic, Mijo Hlad, Zivko Juzbasic, Milan Djukic, Veselin Pejnovic, Dane Lolic, Milos Petrovic, Milan Miric, Mirko Kovac, Dusko Ljustina, Milorad Pupovac, Dusan Bilandzic, Zdravko Tomac, Jovan Uzelac, Srecko Bijelic, Olga Carevic, Banko Macura, Goran Granic, Mirjana Rakic, Arsen Dedic, Veljko Dzakula, Borivoje Zecevic, Branko Drca, Zvonimir Lerotic, and Djuro Skocic, Orthodox priest, Ljubo Ljubotina, Orthodox priest, and Josip Pavlisic, retired archbishop.

Thus, a very "diverse group" in terms of the positions that they have expressed in the past. The fact that chairman Manolic will not exactly have an easy time directing the work of this Board, even if it ever gets down to work, is pointed out by the local media, which are classifying Manolic and Boljkovac as part of the democratic antifascist faction of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], in contrast to Seks, who is reportedly part of the other, dogmatic HDZ "bloc."

SNS [Serbian People's Party]—Insufficient Address

Since the formation of the State Board for Normalization of Croat-Serb Relations was somewhat unexpected (rumor has it that some members learned of their appointment from the newspapers), certain observations arise. It appears that we have moved beyond the time when Croatian official politics could find a representative of Serb interests in Croatia only in the Serbian People's Party (SNS) of Milan Djukic, which was depicted to the world as the party that brings together the other ones—the unrebellious Serbs. However, since even representatives of Djukic's SNS and its publication ZAJEDNICA SRBA U HRVATSKOJ did not exactly "heap honors" on the Croatian authorities during a meeting with the 20-member parliamentary delegation from the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, led by Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, it appears that this was an additional incentive for the formation of the State Board for Normalization of Croat-Serb Relations.

Specifically, the very day before the appointment of the Board, SNS vice chairman Veselin Pejnovic told the Russian delegation in question that more than 7,000 Serb homes have been blown up in Croatia, that a large number of them have lost their jobs simply because of their nationality, and that they are "vilified in the media." Pejnovic's allegations were then reinforced by Dragan Hinic, who added that 3,500 Serbs besides himself had lost their jobs.

A real media "bombshell" was provoked by the words of Milan Skoric, who said that there are "five concentration camps for Serbs in Croatia," which was later refuted through a visit to Sisak, where according to Skoric three camps were located, by a special parliamentary delegation headed by Ambassador Leonid Kerestedziyan.

The work and activity of the State Board for Normalization of Croat-Serb Relations will thus provide an opportunity to see to what extent, if any, there is common ground among the various positions. But these positions are becoming more difficult with each passing day. They are additionally encumbered by the frequent clashes and casualties along the lines of demarcation of the UNPA [UN Protected Area] "pink" zones, but especially by the announced unification of the Serb borderlands.

Refugees—Factor for Radicalization

This appears to benefit the HDZ right wing and other party "hawks" who advocate the war option and reject the negotiating option for resolving the Serbo-Croat conflict. Because, as Miko Tripalo says, "Croatia's internal opinion profile is not yet defined; rather, it is at a crossroads, meaning that it will take either the road of totalitarianism and autocracy or the road of democracy and liberalism."

In "making common cause" on this issue, there is more and more talk of human rights and, inseparably linked to that, media freedom. Particularly vocal in this regard is Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, who recently became the chairman of the newly formed Croatian National Committee of "Helsinki Watch" and who told the weekly NEDELJNA DALMACIJA that "Serbs in Croatia are experiencing the very thing that the Greater Serbs expect in their desire to prove that Serbs cannot live with Croats, and if they cannot, then they must be given Krajina, where they will live separately and freely." According to Cicak, Croatia must be vitally interested in the safety of all its citizens, especially Serbs. Because displaced Serbs, he says, are a permanent factor for radicalization of the Serb regime, and that in turn is a permanent danger to Croatia. The same is true of Croat refugees and exiles, because if they do not return to Baranja, Slavonia..., the so-called Krajina, then that will be a factor for destabilization and radicalization of part of the Croatian population, and thus of the government as well. The interest, Ivan Zvonimir Cicak explained, is that refugees from both sides return to their homes, which neither government sincerely desires for the other. One side would permit only the return of Croats, and the other only the return of Serbs. However, Croatia's problem, in Cicak's opinion, is that it cannot genuinely democratize until all its territory is returned, but that territory cannot be returned until democratization takes place, whereby the Serbs who believe that their place is outside the Croatian state would receive certain guarantees that their Serbhood will not be endangered

In any event, it is pretentious to ask whether the newly formed State Board for Normalization of Croat-Serb Relations will help to find a way out of this vicious circle. But it is obvious that this Board was formed in order to contribute to the quest for a peaceful solution to returning "Krajina" to Croatian sovereignty.

Controversy Grows Over Charges Against Official

93BA1028B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 93 p 8

[Article by R. Arsenic: "Affair in Connection with Murder of Milan Krivokuca Continues: Was Seks a KOS Agent?"]

[Text] *Stjepan Kralj, an employee of the Croatian security service, accuses Vladimir Seks and republican public prosecutor Stjepan Herceg of abusing their positions and of insults, while confirming that he reported what he learned about the crimes in Pakracka Poljana and Sisak to the authorities.*

Zagreb, 12 May—The political affair provoked by the recent disclosure of a confidential report by an employee of the Croatian security service, Stjepan Kralj (53), to the effect that Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks is protecting the murderers of trade union official Milan Krivokuca (who was stabbed in front of his Zagreb apartment last November), is not only failing to subside; it is in fact gaining new momentum.

As we have already reported, Kralj was present during a quarrel among top figures at the Croatian railroad enterprise, in which it was said that Krivokuca's murderers are in the very leadership ranks of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and that Seks is protecting them. Kralj submitted an official report and informed the authorities about this, but the story first came to light in the Viennese newspaper DIE PRESSE. Seks's reaction was severe, setting the matter in motion in the Assembly's National Security Committee, while in the meantime he has filed charges against Kralj, accusing him of spreading false reports. Seks also charges that Kralj has been condemned as a criminal, that he was extradited from Sweden to Croatia, etc.

In that regard, Kralj held a news conference today together with his attorney, Slobodan Budak, where he announced that he has in fact filed criminal charges against Vladimir Seks for abuse of official position, based on the fact that Seks has filed criminal charges against him as the deputy prime minister, and not as a citizen. Kralj has also filed a private charge against Seks for slander and insults, because it is not true that he is a "multiple criminal," nor that he was extradited by Sweden to Croatia as such, as Seks has alleged. In fact, Kralj is a Swedish citizen, and Sweden does not extradite its citizens to other countries.

Kralj has also filed criminal charges against Croatian public prosecutor Stjepan Herceg, also based on abuse of official position, because he announced publicly that Kralj had been sentenced, even though his suspended sentences (which he received as a minor) were expunged.

The part of this press conference at the Palas Hotel in Zagreb that was much more interesting for the public was Stjepan Kralj's explanation of the very essence of this dispute with Seks, i.e., the political affair that is assuming ever-stranger forms.

Kralj confirmed that he was employed by the Croatian "secret police," as he called it, and that he returned to Croatia in 1990 (he had lived and worked in Sweden since 1961). He also confirmed what he knew from the HDZ in connection with the murder of Krivokuca, declaring that he informed Josip Manolic about this, who told him to turn it over immediately to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which he did.

"I have never said that Seks killed Krivokuca, rather that he is protecting the perpetrators," says Kralj, explaining that it is not his job to verify what he has heard; rather, that is up to the authorities of the service, to which he must provide his information.

In response to a journalist's question, Kralj said that he learned of the crimes and looting in Pakracka Poljana last summer. He went there, and in the apartment of a person who was cooperating with the police (and whose son was allegedly seized by the Chetniks during the looting and killed) he saw many looted, expensive things, such as paintings, antique weapons, etc. He reported this to then-republican public prosecutor Vladimir Seks, but the only result was that these things were taken away and the perpetrators were not prosecuted, but pressure began to be applied on Kralj.

The chairman of the recently founded National Committee of Helsinki Watch for Croatia, Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, asked Kralj whether he has proof that Vladimir Seks was a KOS [Yugoslav Counterintelligence Service] agent, to which Kralj replied with a smile that he could not discuss that because he is bound by the obligations of official secrecy. He nodded when it was asserted that Seks's nickname in that capacity was Sova and that his duties included tracking Mika Tripalo, Stipe Mesic, attorney Slobodan Budak, and others. Asked whether he knows how long Seks was in that service, he responded that he does not know that right now.

Federal

U.S. Policy on Serbia, Bosnia Viewed

AU2605155193 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 93 p 9

[Jovan Vlajkovic article: "Besieging Serbia"]

[Text] There is no doubt that future events will show relatively quickly whether the current "indecisiveness" of Clinton's Administration concerning the crisis in the former Yugoslavia is illusory or real. The current U.S. approach toward the untangling of the Balkan "knot" has surprised even political circles in the United States, let alone other international political circles.

Two things are clear in all this. First, that various centers of political power are waging a global war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, which, at first sight, has nothing to do with the peoples in this region. And second, that we are currently in a transitional period, at the end of a state of disintegration and the beginning of a new stage.

"Indecisiveness," Threats

According to reliable information from the U.S. media, on 1 May President Clinton decided on a plan to intervene in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, known as Lift-and-Strike. The plan was based on two "pillars," the lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims, and U.S. air strikes on Serbian positions.

In brief, with the new arms the Muslims would complete the job on the ground, while the Americans would extend them strategic help from the air, which is necessary for the "final settlement" of the Serbian issue.

Just because of all this many observers were surprised by the current "indecisiveness" of the United States. It is being stressed that the Clinton administration has allegedly made such a big political "turnaround" that it is impossible to follow it.

However, the views on this "turnabout" differ.

This situation reminds some commentators of the situation of a year ago when the Americans "banged on the table with their fist" and recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina on 6 April (with which they in fact incited the war). Remarks are also being made about the always dangerous "silence" of the only remaining superpower, which, in some cases, resulted in catastrophic actions by the United States. Finally, one should not ignore the fact that it was the Americans who defied the Vance-Owen peace plan at the end of January with the so-called Clinton plan.

Others, like the Spanish press for instance, write about the "brilliant strategy" of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who effaced the "scenario" of the U.S. planners for military intervention. Comments are also being made that Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, with the "help" of Slobodan Milosevic and Konstandinos Mitsotakis, accepted the Vance-Owen plan in Athens on the same day U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher set off on a tour to "convince" European allies to support military intervention. The brunt of the U.S. action was then blunted when the Assembly of the Serbian Republic decided on Mount Jahorina, on the day Christopher was in Moscow, to hold a referendum.

However, it remains to be seen whether the course of events really forced the U.S. Administration to switch to a "minimalist concept" and to proceed with the policy of "small steps."

That the Americans do not intend to give up their efforts on untangling the Balkan knot is also confirmed by the self-assurance of the leaders of the Bosnian Muslims and the arrogance of Tudjman's regime. If one is to go by the latest issue of NEWSWEEK, the current U.S. approach could best be described as "besieging the Serbian ghetto with barbed wire."

This respected and always well informed magazine writes that the Clinton Administration is working on four "key points" of its future policy toward Serbia and events in Yugoslavia.

Escalation of War

The first point is the "deployment of U.N. ground forces on the Serbian-Bosnian border" in order to control "Belgrade's blockade of the Bosnian Serbs."

The second is "the increase of UN troops in Macedonia, which would eventually be joined by U.S. troops."

The third is "the deployment of U.N. troops along the border between Albania and the Serb province of Kosovo."

The fourth point is "the use of the U.S. Air Force to protect U.N. troops in the Muslim 'protected zones' in Bosnia."

If the Clinton administration's "new plan," which in fact represents an adjusted variant of some earlier plans of George Bush's strategists, really begins to be implemented, then one can almost certainly expect new escalation and the spreading of the war.

This would happen regardless of a change in the current pace of breaking up the Serbian national space by the world powers. In this case, Kosovo would be the other "lever" that the Americans would use to destroy the "besieged" Belgrade.

That this course of events cannot be looked at from "one angle" was confirmed by respected British military expert Jonathan Ayle [name as transliterated], who said that sending troops to Macedonia is "sheer nonsense." On the other hand, it is also stated that the latest "U.S. game" more represents attempts to neutralize Russian diplomatic moves than real U.S. disengagement.

One can conclude from the attempts to "neutralize Russia" that working on Belgrade remains the aim of the Americans, with one strategy, which, in the view of Clinton's advisers, is best suited to the situation.

This, at least in the next stage, is, as we have already said, the strategy of "barbed wire."

Yugoslav Army Statement Regarding Seselj

AU2605202193 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 93 p 5

[Text of the statement issued by the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army; place and date not given: "Seselj Has Lost the Capability To Judge"]

[Text] Belgrade— The General Staff of the Yugoslav Army issued a public announcement yesterday regarding "a series of Mr. Seselj's untruths and slander actions against Lieutenant-General Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, but also against the Yugoslav Army in general." This is the integral text of the statement.

"The impossibility to announce the events that have occurred because of the changes in the leadership within the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, but also within the Yugoslav Army in general, obviously caused the loss of capability to judge in Mr. Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party. Therefore it is necessary to discuss the latest series of uncontrolled remarks this leader has made in public recently.

"The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia precisely defines the role, the management, and the control of the Yugoslav Army. The attempts of some parties and their leaders to influence the Yugoslav Army to use it for their own party and political goals are seriously imaginary and contradictory to the existing Constitution.

"Continuous attacks on the Yugoslav Army are aimed at the destruction of the country's stability and its armed forces, which could enable an easy implementation of certain discredited ideas and intentions, as the last one of Mr. Seselj.

"The Yugoslav Army has so far successfully thwarted all such attempts, and as far as criticizing of some leading personalities in the Yugoslav Army is concerned, the only institution in charge is the Supreme Defense Council of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"The last attempt of the leader of the Serbian Radical Party to remove those people from responsible functions in state and military institutions who were born deep inside Serbian borders are not founded and thus cannot be supported either by the Serbian and Montenegrin population or by the Yugoslav Army.

"The Yugoslav Army has always been and will always be open for all well-intentioned contacts with all serious political parties and their leaders. The General Staff of the Yugoslav Army considers such contacts useful, even necessary for both sides.

"This also applies to the Serbian Radical Party, whose leader has—unfortunately—been intensely spoiling the national unity of the Serbs lately. Although this is tragic, it is somehow understandable because the beginning of peace in the former Yugoslavia would probably mean an end to the political career of Mr. Vojislav Seselj," the statement ends.

Cosic Appeals to French Senators

LD2605120693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0951 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic received French Senators Jerrar Larchais and Philippe Froncoise at the Palace of Federation on Tuesday evening, to discuss the disastrous effects of U.N. sanctions, slow international reactions to the developments in the former Yugoslavia, and the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The two senators arrived in Belgrade from Pale—the political centre of the Bosnian Serb Republic—which they visited at the initiative of a non-governmental human rights organization.

Larchais, who represents the group of MPs of France's ruling party, told reporters after the talks with Cosic that France's friendship with Serbia and Yugoslavia had weakened but should not be questioned.

Cosic told his guests that the European Community neglected the reality and thus made a mistake which could have unforeseeable consequences—Dragoslav Rancic, one of the Yugoslav president's advisers, told reporters.

"We live in the era of informatics, and it took a year to realise that a civil war is going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and not a Serbian aggression," said Cosic.

Larchais said he no longer doubted that the Serbs in Bosnia were defending their homes and was confident that no Yugoslav troops were present there.

Cosic asked his guests to convey his call to France to "come back to the Balkans, and return first to the central people" in the region.

France has no reason to forget that Serbia is its main support in the Balkans, said Cosic. "Help us get out of the concentration camp. Why do you participate in the punishing of an entire people," he added.

Cosic said that Yugoslav hospitals had only 400 of the 6,000 needed medicaments, and outlined other difficulties in health institutions.

He also appealed to France to see to it that Yugoslavia's international cooperation in science, medicine, culture and sports be exempted from the sanctions.

Serbia

Seselj Comments on Milosevic, Cosic

AU2705082693 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 93 pp 16-18

[Interview with Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, by Dragan Vujosevic, place and date not given: "There Are a Lot of Idiots"]

[Text] We spoke to Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], on his return from Bosnia-Herzegovina where he had invested 18 warlords [vojvoda] ("One should distinguish between Chetnik warlords and Serbian warlords, the holders of the highest army rank, of which there have been only four in Serbian history") and where he had spoken with the leaders of the Serbs from the Serbian Republic ("I did not stand in for Milosevic in these conversations. I am not the president of the republic"). We are beginning this interview with his reply to the question of what he thinks about the statement by Warlord Momcilo Djujic—which was published in the last edition of NIN—that he had been disappointed by Seselj, the man who had given him his title.

[Seselj] Everyone has a right to be disappointed, even Warlord Djujic. He has disappointed me too. He cited many reasons in that interview for NIN which are not valid. In his time he agreed with the foundation of the SRS, he even stressed that he and his father had been radicals and that the radical tradition was most suited to the ideology which we represented in the Serbian Chetnik Movement [SCP]. He liked the idea that we refrained from registering the SCP as a political party because the war was already in sight—this was in February 1991—and that the SCP should have the kind of role that it had in the earlier liberation wars and should operate under the auspices of the SRS, because the same people were in the leadership of the SCP and the SRS.

The only problem in our relations is the question of a monarchy or a republic. Warlord Djujic has never given up his monarchist beliefs. However, he was in conflict with all the members of the royal family of Karadjordjevic. About a year ago there was a certain rapprochement between Warlord Djujic and the Karadjordjevic family, particularly with Prince Aleksandar. I do not know what influenced that. I, however, am unable to change my political beliefs overnight, nor can I quickly alter my political positions as Warlord Djujic can. He did something similar to the three presidents, especially President Milosevic. Up to a point they conducted a policy of emphatic hostility toward Prince Aleksandar, and then everything changed overnight. I do not understand such political behavior and I am not in a position to adapt to it.

[Vujosevic] One of the people who helped you a lot when you were in trouble was Dobrica Cosic. We are interested in the psychological turn-around which motivated you to be one of the first to want to bring him down.

[Seselj] You wrote in several articles in NIN and in one editorial "that nothing in this world is as brief as gratitude." There have also been several other tasteless attacks which say more about you than me. They bear witness to your unsuccessful foray into ethical waters and to your inept handling of political categories.

Dobrica Cosic helped me when I was being persecuted by the Communist regime and when I was in prison. If this happens to Cosic, I will help him. You should not forget that Cosic helped Izetbegovic and a group of Muslims much more than he helped me, but this did not bother these people when they started a genocidal war against the Serbian people. I was the first in Yugoslavia to defend Izetbegovic and endanger my own existence. I also once helped Vladimir Seks to find a private printer at a time when he was being persecuted in Croatia.

The question is whether, if someone has helped you as a citizen, you should now be one of his followers. This is how the three presidents are acting: "We helped the Serbs in Bosnia and now you must therefore listen to us." This is the way Cosic has behaved toward me. He helped me, and I should now be his political adjutant like Miodrag Perisic. Is he a moral man? When I help someone, I do it unconditionally.

In Belgrade I asked only Academician Mihajlo Markovic for help. He unselfishly gave this to me and has never asked me for anything in return.

When it was already clear that they would arrest me in Sarajevo, Cosic said at a meeting at the Belgrade Park hotel, which was attended by Ljubomir Tadic, Kosta Cavoski, Miodrag Milic, and probably Nebojsa Popov and Dragoljub Micunovic, that he had received information from the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that it had been decided to arrest me and sentence me to long, hard labor. Since I had decided to continue to fight and to return to Sarajevo, Dobrica asked me how they could help me. He promised me that they would look after my wife, who was advanced in her pregnancy, that they would pay for lawyers, and that they would finance the publication of one or two books abroad. He kept only the first promise.

I finally broke from Dobrica after the well-known letter that I wrote to the Presidency of Yugoslavia. At that point, July 1986, he gave me a proper lecture in his house. I calmly listened to everything, having already decided not to enter his house ever again. Afterward, Dobrica even started to call me a madman.

Regardless of the fact that we had quarreled, I enthusiastically supported his nomination as president of the Republic and I acted to ensure that he be nominated as quickly as possible and to prevent the election of Svetozar Marovic.

[Vujosevic] What did you expect of Cosic as a president?

[Seselj] I thought that he was a sincere Serbian patriot; that he would devotedly protect Serbian national interests; that with the authority of our greatest living writer he would contribute to the stabilization of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I could not foresee what would happen, that Cosic would collapse. I could not foresee the kind of confusion that would be caused in his conscience by pressures from outside, and probably by some of his Masonic links which are now steering him in a direction completely different from the one that we had expected. I thought that when he was in this position that he would be a man and muster the courage to say: No!

[Vujosevic] Do you think that those who are now calling him Slobodan Milosevic's spokesman are right?

[Seselj] Cosic has shown that he has absolutely no political talent. It is crazy for him to be chosen at the behest of two parties, and then after a few days transfer to another camp which does not have enough strength to support him. His view that he can represent something in political life without a political party is unrealizable. The third erroneous assessment is that he thought that he could create a serious party out of that political idiot Cedo Mirkovic. When I say idiot, I am not being insulting, I am using that word in the original Greek sense, for someone who is not involved in politics.

[Vujosevic] How many idiots are there in Serbian politics?

[Seselj] There have been three opportunities for those with talent and ability to break out on to the political scene. Those who have parties in parliament succeeded.

[Vujosevic] Does that mean that Vuk Draskovic is not an idiot?

[Seselj] He managed to achieve something in politics: He has a serious political party which is in its twilight hour, it is going downhill. Dule Mihajlovic and Kostunica have managed to outwit Vuk however. They have survived on the political stage because Vuk turned out to be an idiot. They have outwitted him and taken away his votes. And all of them together have outwitted that handful of intellectuals....

[Vujosevic] You mean Matija Beckovic too?

[Seselj] Matija too, of course. He thinks that he has been heaven-sent to be at the top. He cannot be. Success in politics comes to those who do patient party work, who have time for the most primitive person in their party and for the most outstanding intellectual. They are repeating the mistakes of the Bolsheviks. When Lenin died, everyone thought that they were heaven-sent for high politics—Zinoviev, Kamenyev, Trotsky, and Bukharin. They were exceptional intellectuals, but they underestimated the man who does the party work, who constructed the party apparatus.

[Vujosevic] Is this the difference between Milosevic and the other politicians on the Serbian scene? He has worn out at least 20 pairs of trousers working for the party.

[Seselj] Of course, politics cannot be conducted without that. They would like to be philosophers, teachers, and writers in the morning and sometime in the late afternoon meet and be involved in politics. Milosevic is a serious politician and has devoted all his life to politics. He is involved only in politics and nothing else.

[Vujosevic] The only politician who you do not criticize is Milosevic, while Dobrica, for example, is a constant target of yours.

[Seselj] I think that Dobrica is simply irrelevant in politics. Regarding Milosevic, I think that Radovan Karadzic coined an appropriate phrase: "We are sad."

You see, in my opinion, Milosevic has made a big political mistake. I am in a dilemma as to whether to force him to make an even bigger mistake with a fierce personal attack. I am trying to understand the position that he is in because this move of his has been forced upon him with threats and blackmail. Not upon him personally, but on his people. I do not feel any triumph: He gave in, I have remained.

A crack has appeared in the patriotic bloc. Apart from patriotism, we do not have anything in common with the Socialists. It is in our interest, if this is possible, to paper over the crack without being seen as the culprits if it is not papered over. Once they see that the sanctions are not going to be lifted, this will probably be sufficient reason for them to thrust out their chests to the West and say: "This is enough now, we will not talk with you."

[Vujosevic] This is one interpretation. What is the alternative?

[Seselj] The alternative is to immediately break up the Serbian Assembly and the Federal Assembly. We can at any moment force him [Milosevic] to hold extraordinary elections or force him into a firm embrace with DEPOS [the Democratic Movement of Serbia] and the Democrats.

[Vujosevic] You need 126 votes in the Serbian Assembly to bring down the government and you have 73.

[Seselj] No, they need 126 votes because we are demanding a vote of confidence.

[Vujosevic] You will get them from DEPOS, the Democrats....

[Seselj] I am talking about these two scenarios: extraordinary elections, or pushing Milosevic into the embrace of DEPOS and the Democrats. As a party, the second one would suit us perfectly. Everyone in Milosevic's circle would be on one side and we would be on the other—in opposition. But this would not suit the Serbian people. The Socialist Party's patriotic drive would be weakened in such an embrace and only then would Serbia conduct a defeatist policy.

However, since it has been shown that no one can do anything with Draskovic and especially not Milosevic—

the second variation is extraordinary elections. We feel that the people are fed up with elections. Why should we be to blame for new special elections? Many people believe that this is because we would gain less at these elections. This is not true.

[Vujosevic] Are you not underestimating Milosevic's political instincts somewhat? He has been doing U-turns which are difficult to put together, but it again seems that he has the best feel for political trends?

[Seselj] Excessively large and excessively frequent U-turns are not healthy in politics. When you do a sharp turn-around, many people who follow you continue in the old way because of inertia. At every U-turn, Draskovic has gotten rid of thousands and thousands of his followers. This is also happening in this case. Do not forget that the Socialist Party of Serbia has been going downhill since 1990.

[Vujosevic] Yes, but Milosevic has retained his standing.

[Seselj] No. Were it not for the support of the SRS, Milosevic would not have won the first round of the elections in December.

[Vujosevic] Do you think that with the meeting in the Sava Center, Milosevic was trying to tell the world that he is no longer with you?

[Seselj] If that is the real reason for calling that meeting, I would breathe a sigh of relief, I would feel relieved. I would be happy if it were in his interest to distance himself from the Radicals and to show the world that he does not stand behind the Bosnian Serbs. However, the intention was for this meeting to make a decision on behalf of all Serbian people and for this to be the legal basis for the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan. We felt this, and that is why we disrupted that meeting.

[Vujosevic] Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan said the opposite, but still left the meeting.

[Seselj] Well, they were humiliating him. They invited him to the meeting but did not let him speak.

[Vujosevic] Do you think that Arkan is so undisciplined?

[Seselj] Why undisciplined?

[Vujosevic] Well, many people think that he has some obligations....

[Seselj] I do not know!

[Vujosevic] Because of Milosevic's change of position, will you now be asking questions in the Assembly, as you did in the Cosic case?

[Seselj] The positions of Cosic and Milosevic are completely different. Cosic is a ceremonial president. He has now even violated the Constitution because he is having secret negotiations with the Croats, sending his special advisers. Especially as we know the content of these negotiations: He is offering Serbian Krajina to the Croats in exchange for the Serbs getting the corridor in northern Bosnia. He is offering a special status for Serbian Krajina within Croatia....

[Vujosevic] Tudjman has said that he sorted this out with Milosevic in Athens.

[Seselj] I do not know what Tudjman said. I only know the information I have.

[Vujosevic] Tudjman is insisting that he is having talks with Milosevic and "with Cosic in passing."

[Seselj] Yes, but Milosevic is avoiding these talks while Cosic is in a rush....

[Vujosevic] Do you think that Milosevic's side has not had talks with the Croats?

[Seselj] I do not know.

[Vujosevic] You are saying that Cosic is less and less a patriot. Would you also attack Milosevic for diminished patriotism?

[Seselj] I do not think that he has reduced his degree of patriotism. I think that he has made a specific political mistake, that his assessment was wrong that targets in Yugoslavia would be bombed if he did not withhold support for the Serbs in Bosnia...

[Vujosevic] Are you not afraid that Milosevic will deliver you to the West, which has proclaimed you a war criminal?

[Seselj] Let us look at this situation. An international court for war crimes is being set up and it is demanding my extradition. Anyone here who decides to extradite me would be violating the Constitution...

[Vujosevic] This is not a problem here?

[Seselj] ...but he would have to reckon on the kind of political consequences this would have. If they were to extradite me, I would only become more and more popular politically....

[Vujosevic] But you will not return here?

[Seselj] Do you think that they could prove that I have committed any war crimes? I would make a mockery of their trial and I would return soon. Not even our volunteers have committed any such war crime.

[Vujosevic] Vocin is being mentioned?

[Seselj] For the "White Eagles," not for ours. For the "Yellow Ants" and the "Falcons." For everyone there is evidence, but for the SRS volunteers there is no proof whatsoever. This trial would be a terrific political favor for me.

[Vujosevic] Could you stand for the post of secretary general of the United Nations?

[Seselj] Yes, but then my ambitions would be global.

[Vujosevic] Do you think that one of the reasons for the Socialist Party of Serbia behaving more coolly toward you is the fact that they have realized that you have support in some parts of the Army and the police, while the state is seen here in terms of the gun and the club?

[Seselj] We have influence among all sorts of people. Secondly, we know how to acquire information. You saw how long the accusations that the police and Army had me in the palms of their hands lasted. Then it was revealed that I was holding something too. Who could manipulate me? I am probably in a position to do the manipulating.

[Vujosevic] Bosnia is next. Do you think that you are doing a disservice to Serbian matters with your pronouncements about the bombardment of civilian targets in Italy?

[Seselj] As far as my threat is concerned, it is a real one. I said: We will retaliate if we are attacked from Italian territory. If they destroy our territory and cause civilian casualties, we have the right to retaliate.

[Vujosevic] This statement increases the demonization of Serbia.

[Seselj] It is already at such a level that nothing can increase it.

[Vujosevic] Where did you get those 16 missiles from? The Italian defense minister is claiming that the Serbs do not have them.

[Seselj] The Italian defense minister knows full well that the Serbs have them. These are SS-22 missiles which can carry nuclear warheads. They are very dangerous and are difficult to shoot down. On the other hand, if there is foreign military intervention, we will raze Zagreb and other Croatian towns to the ground.

[Vujosevic] You are against the Croats, but in Bosnia it seems that the Croats are being courted while the Muslims are the enemy.

[Seselj] Neither is being courted. If the Muslims beat the Croats in Mostar and central Bosnia, they can easily get to Neum. It would suit us for them to get to the sea....

[Vujosevic] Why? Would the Serbs demand Konavle or do you mean Dubrovnik?

[Seselj] We will see later what we will demand. But it is important that the Serbs not get mixed up in the conflicts between the Croats and Muslims.

[Vujosevic] Have you noticed that the foreign media has been talking abut the Serbs in Bosnia with more understanding ever since Milosevic became "more cooperative"?

[Seselj] When Milosevic turned against the Serbian Republic, they suddenly quashed the threats of military intervention. Suddenly there was understanding for the Bosnian Serbs. My assumption is that they are making moves to weaken Milosevic because they want to bring him down.

[Vujosevic] Why would he bother them?

[Seselj] They are bothered by anyone who is sufficiently strong to keep everything under control. They need a Balkan region of weak countries....

[Vujosevic] But they can also keep control of the Balkans like they did through Broz, like a strongman, like they are doing in South America after all.

[Seselj] No, they need a Balkan region of weak states, with constant crisis so that the Americans can keep their soldiers here because they are scared that in the future, the Germans who have already taken Slovenia and Croatia will get as far as Istanbul.

[Vujosevic] What can we do between two superpowers? Do we carry on fighting without stopping?

[Seselj] We have to fight. If we submit we will no longer have the serious state we once had. They will annihilate us as a nation. The Americans are introducing cosmopolitanism. If we oppose them, we will preserve the state, although this is a painstaking way.

[Vujosevic] Have you given up on the Karlobag-Ogulin-Karlovac- Virovitica line?

[Seselj] No. When I am asked, I say that we have liberated 80 percent of Serbian territory. But if the war in Croatia is renewed, it is not impossible for us to encircle these borders in this ideal shape.

[Vujosevic] But if Croatia is recognized within the borders of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]....

[Seselj] No one can give up Krajina, just as no one could give up the Serbian Republic. Especially now that the Serbian Republic is independent, no one can surrender the Serbian Krajinas. The most realistic concept will be the concept of western Serbia which we are advocating: a union of the Krajina and the Serbian Republic.

[Vujosevic] Will that state have bread and ammunition?

[Seselj] Everything has been sown in Bosnia. They will have food and there is ammunition. These people do not need anything else.

[Vujosevic] Do you think that the people in Bosnia have turned their backs on Milosevic?

[Seselj] I think that Milosevic has lost a lot of authority, but he has not lost without a hope. Everyone is criticizing him now, but I think with sadness. There is no hatred of Milosevic.

[Vujosevic] They are still hoping?

[Seselj] Many people are hoping that this is some kind of game.

[Vujosevic] Do you think that this is a game?

[Seselj] Now, unfortunately, I do not think that it is a game. However, Milosevic would show himself to be a genial politician if he were to take some steps which would really show that this was a game. I would really like for him to do such a thing and I would help him in this as far as I could.

Macedonia

Request for NATO Membership To Be Submitted

LD2605173593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Skopje, 26 May (TANJUG)—Vlado Popovski, defense minister of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, said in a statement for today's issue of NOVA MAKEDONIJA that Macedonia will submit an official request for membership in NATO in two or three weeks. According to the Macedonian minister, there are no reasons of principle why Macedonia should not join the most powerful military alliance in the world. He also revealed that Macedonia's membership in NATO had been discussed on several occasions.

Minister Popovski interprets increased interest in Macedonia by the United States and NATO as a possibility for NATO to reinforce permanently is southern wing and to widen its rim of defense by 200 kilometers northwards. Macedonia is an important area for vital interests of the Western allies, Popovski said in the statement to Skopje's paper.

Montenegro

Serbian-Montengrin Relations Examined

AU2605205393 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 93 p 5

[Miodrag Vukmanovic commentary: "Standing on the Head"]

[Text] After it had been forced to publicly agree to the international peace plan, the top military-political leadership of the so-called FRY is now trying to benefit from the disagreement between the United States and some EC members regarding further steps in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A certain benefit from the intensified conflict between Croats and Muslims is also expected. In fact, it is assumed that this conflict will partly abolish the widespread impressions of the character of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and thereby dull Washington's intentions to use a top-gun strike in order to try to make wiser the "idiotically" hard-line Karadzic's general [as published]. The West, on the other hand, plays on the card of a breakup among Serbs. One reckons that, being in trouble, Serbia and Montenegro—despite all pledges of love, face, and the Orthodox faith of St. Sava—would rather put up with the accusation that they had betrayed their brothers on the other side of the Drina, than call into question their authority over the territories that can still be controlled through the famous "rational democracy." The leading role in persuading the Serbs to accept the peace plan is played by one of the plan's coauthors—Lord Owen. He is doing this with such persistence in his statements that many people in the know are of the opinion that the lord cares more about the plan itself, which he would use to crown his diplomatic carrier—which has so far been lacking results—than about a real solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem.

Everybody is trying to benefit from the disagreements among the opposite side, but all these disagreements are not of the same significance and intensity. The transatlantic quarrel among the allies was caused by Europe's reluctance to support the U.S. plan to raid the artillery positions and communications of Karadzic's army. European refusal is being explained with the fear of Serbian revenge on the UNPROFOR forces, as well as the following question: what to do after the raid, as the United States still does not approve of their ground forces participating in the gradual pacification enterprise, be it according to the Vance-Owen plan or independent of it? The Americans are annoyed by the indecisiveness on the part of the Europeans, because they consider the former Yugoslav territory to be a primarily European problem. Their feelings are well illustrated by a cartoon showing an American soldier carrying a European in a Napoleonic uniform on his back across the border into Bosnia. With a frown, the American asks: "Are you never bored with other people carrying you around?" In reply to the reproaches that arrive from the U.S. Senate to the effect that Europe gives an impression of hopeless indifference, apprehension, self-delusion, and hypocrisy, Paris makes remarks about a cowboy policy and a casual stroll in aircraft above Bosnia. There is no doubt that, with the exception of the calculatedly passive Germans, the more influential EC members agree more with the "progressive implementation" of the Vance-Owen plan that Russia insists upon, than with the attempts by the U.S. Administration to have a joint approach and a more resolute action. America's refusal to attend the Security Council meeting at ministerial level may be interpreted as a harsh way to make the European allies and Russia see that the White House is no longer ready to tolerate their avoidance of all specific U.S. proposals. Clinton seems to have realized that U.S. prestige has been dangerously called into question.

Regarding the conflict between the Croats and the Muslims, its center is the so-called Herceg-Bosna. According to the peace plan, that creation is abolished, but the Croats do not want to give it up until they receive guarantees that the so-called Serbian Republic will also be abolished. Of course, this is connected with the dismantling of the third para-state creation that is located right in Croatia's own belly. Tudjman will certainly have problems, but the benefits that Serbian propaganda is conspicuously trying to earn from the Croatian-Muslim conflict are short-range.

Regarding the third current disagreement, the one among the Serbs, things stand somewhat differently. It is still not clear to the West, and not only to the West, whether the support of the Vance-Owen plan in Belgrade means that the Yugoslav authorities had really decided to write Bosnia-Herzegovina off, or that what is involved is a "Balkan theater play with roles already designated." In any case, according to a British diplomat, this is going to serve as a test of Milosevic's real readiness to exert pressure on the Bosnian Serbs. If he is granted time, he will certainly use various maneuvers in order to water down the situation, but the final result of that policy will be the same as with policies in the past. The problem is that, in the Serbian-Montenegrin state, power and humiliation go along the same lines. The force with which the regime started off the offensive on the borders of the third Yugoslavia is now backfiring. The memory of yesterday's extreme bragging and ultra-national rhetoric is more and more frequently making even those people who used to conduct this madness blush. Serbia is beginning, ashamedly, to realize the limits of its powers, although the complete awakening will need a long time. Montenegro, led by Momir Bulatovic, is trotting like a foolish page in the wake of the spiritually and materially weakened Serbia. According to Bulatovic himself, relations between the two ruling parties are now almost idea. Can they be anything but that, with all these joint and individual successes? The unity was established regarding the phenomenon called "Seselj."

It is hopefully clear to everybody now that the communist federation is the only guarantee of the unity between Serbia and Montenegro. This organic link is more and more being felt even by those people in Montenegro whose insistence on being Serbian does have some limits in the feeling of elementary self-respect. Bulatovic and company are now trying to cut back any excessive insistence on Montenegrin individuality just as their predecessors were doing. Under the present circumstances, not only can Montenegro do nothing to free itself from sanctions, but its leadership does not even wish that. Any self-initiative in this respect leads to a demand to reexamine relations in the so-called federation. However, why would one do so with the relations being so ideal? If, by any chance, there is no bread in Montenegro, it is clear, it is gone with the wind!

Economy 'Faced With Collapse' Due to Sanctions

AU2605161993 Paris AFP in English 1454 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Podgorica, May 26 (AFP)—Montenegro's economy is faced with collapse because of tough U.N. sanctions, Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic said Wednesday.

"If U.N. Security Council sanctions continue to be enforced the economy of Montenegro will collapse, with the danger that it will take with it all other vital functions of the country," he said.

The U.N. sanctions, first imposed against Serbia and Montenegro in May 1992 to punish their support for Bosnian Serbs in war-torn neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, are crippling the economy of the tiny state.

He said the social situation in the country was "dramatic," pointing to Montenegro's 68,000 jobless, 70,000 pensioners and as many refugees in a state with a working population of just 400,000.

In addition, international trade sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia have cost Montenegro 277 million dollars, Djukanovic said Wednesday.

Montenegrin businesses have lost 130 million dollars in export revenues, 90 million from tourism and 57 million from shipping, Djukanovic said.

Output had plummeted in the first four months of the year by 35 percent compared with 1992.

Kosovo

Raznjatovic Calls for State of Emergency

AU2605150493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] At the news conference of the Deputy Group of Citizens from Kosovo, which took place during the break in the morning part of the Serbian Assembly session, Zeljko Raznjatovic stressed that the situation in Kosovo and Metohija was unstable and that a large amount of weapons have been brought in.

Movements of criminals and arms transports are being carried out under the pretext of Kosovo Albanian wedding celebrations. Raznjatovic believes that it is imperative that larger numbers of police forces should be present there, and that the border toward Albania should be guarded by a professional army and not 17- and 18-year-old recruits.

Zeljko Raznjatovic's Deputy Group of Citizens launched an initiative to ban the work of Ibrahim Rugova's party and to have him banished from the country because he is an Albanian citizen.

This was all from the morning part of the session. To see whether the afternoon part of the Serbian Assembly session has started, we go to our reporter Radovan Pantovic who is on the spot;

[Pantovic] Yes, the assembly has resumed its session and it is now the deputies' turn to address questions. So far, requests for the drafting of a complete social program have been addressed to the government, while deputy Zeljko Raznjatovic, dissatisfied with the government's earlier reply, once again asked what had happened to the officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army who, as he said, had participated in the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Moreover, he asked that a state of emergency be declared in Kosovo. Momir Rogozavski asked the government for information about Croatia's aggression on the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. Many questions of a local nature were also addressed to the government, but the ministers did not give verbal replies, so that, most probably, the answers will probably come in writing in time for the next session.

After finishing with the deputies' questions, the assembly will continue the session according to the agenda established yesterday. It will first review the proposed bill on hunting. The assembly will also sit in session tomorrow.

RILINDJA 'Completely Under Serbian Control'

AU2705103893 Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Tirana, May 27 (ATA)—The Serbian minister of information, Milivoje Pavlovic, came recently to Pristine to take part in the first meeting of the run-affairs council of the public publishing enterprise "Panorama." In his speech, as the Serbian newspaper JEDINSTVO reports, Belgrade's representative warned that from now on the newspaper RILINDJA Will be completely under Serbian control. Serbian state, Pavlovic stated, will help that the daily newspaper RILINDJA appears in the kiosks but it can no more be a tribune of the Albanians, but a daily newspaper, a component part of Serbian journalism.

Journalists Strike

LD2605214993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Almost 1,500 journalists and other employees of the RILINDJA newspaper and publishing enterprise are on strike over a decision by the Serbian authorities to destroy this institution of great importance for the Kosovo Albanians. The strikers' committee at a news conference announced five demands rejecting the decision to set up a phantom Serbian enterprise named Panorama and urging the reinstatement of all forcibly fired employees.

Some 250 RILINDJA journalists have joined Adem Demaci, chairman of the Kosovo Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Liberties and the editor-in-chief of ZERI weekly, in his hunger strike. Ten Albanian writers have also joined Demaci in his hunger strike. Students at Pristina University announced they will also do this. Meanwhile, Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian radicals, has called for an anti-Albanian rally in Pristina in a desire to provoke Albanians.

LDK Supports RILINDJA

AU2605190093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] We express our solidarity for the act of Adem Demaci who, in sign of protest against Serbian destructive acts, is staging a hunger strike, the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK] communique states.

The communique stresses that we are joining him and confirms our commitment in support of RILINDJA employees so as to protect this institution of special importance for our spiritual and political life.

On this occasion, we invite all international institutions to undertake concrete actions to stop the policy of genocide, which is increasingly becoming a possible cause for a conflict with tragic consequences, the LDK communique underlines. It warns that those who participate in this crime should bear responsibility for this.